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of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga. Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei, who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on.

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

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The term *polopolo* was equated to the term *inasi* (literally, share or portion). The *polopolo* ceremony was actually a sharing of the first fruits.

From the great chief Ata I obtained some information as to the presentation of first fruits to the Tui Kanokupolu, and the supervision of horticulture and fishing by the chiefs of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua, practices which Ata told me would apply also to the other lineages of to-day as well.

All vegetable and animal products within the territory directly controlled by the Tui Kanokupolu were tapu for that high chief. Two petty chiefs were appointed to make continual rounds of the territory to see that the common people were not utilizing those products without permission. These inspectors called Tui Pangai and Tui Sinoieiki were petty chiefs (*eikisii*) rather than matapules. They were appointed by Ata, and operated in the territory of the Haa Ngata Motua only, one of them in Pangai, the western part of Hihifo, the other in Sinoieiki, the eastern part.

If, in making his round an inspector discovered a fine bunch of cooking bananas, or breadfruit, or yams, or sweet potatoes which were regarded as suitable for the Tui Kanokupolu, he put a tapu upon it by sticking a sharp stick into the banana tree trunk, hanging coconut leaves on the breadfruit tree branches, by putting a stick into the ground near the yam or sweet potato plants. Of coconuts, only a special small kind called *kafakala* was reserved for chiefs. Such inspectors also reported to Ata, and through him to the Tui Kanokupolu, the amount of crops planted by the farmers, and as to whether or not they were sufficient.

Pigs, like coconuts, needed no tapu mark put upon them. All pigs above a certain size were tapu to the commoners, even to their owners, and were reserved for their chiefs and for the Tui Kanokupolu.

A commoner who broke the food tapus would be thrashed or possibly killed. The infraction was reported to Ata, who determined the punishment and ordered someone to administer it. There seems to have been no fear of supernatural punishment.

Similar customs controlled the utilization of fishes. Large fishes caught by any of the people under the rule of Ata, must be brought to him. Especially fine fishes were sent by Ata to the Tui Kanokupolu. A fisherman caught eating a large fish might have his tongue pulled out, or be thrashed, or even killed.

The person whose duty it is to bring fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu bears the title of Ngalu Haatafu. He is appointed by Ata, being selected, as a rule, from the same family as the preceding incumbent. Benjamin One, called Ngalu since his appointment about 1912, succeeded his cousin. In addition to Ngalu, who delivers the fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu, are two petty chiefs: Faoa, a chief of the lowest order, who supervises the bonito fishing, and Latukefu who supervises the fishing for *vete*.

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In some games the chief is given a handicap over opponents of lesser rank. In the game of dart throwing (*sika manao*) in which the greatest distance thrown determines the winner, if the chief's dart were almost the winner, it would be turned over lengthwise so as to lie ahead of the leading dart. My informant had an impression that the chief's dart might be turned over three times, that is, the chief be given a handicap of three lengths, but not more. From this custom originated the proverbial expression *sii kae amo* (small but successful), which implies that although one has not displayed much energy or skill in an enterprise yet he has succeeded thanks to the assistance of someone else.

The *fekesike* method of fishing was never used by anyone but a chief who could muster the necessary numbers required (43), consequently a *fekesike* rope always belonged to a chief.

Not every chief has the word *tui* (lord) in his title. Various informants were under the impression that the term *tui* in connection with a name indicated higher rank than *eiki* (chief). One informant said that chiefs with the word *tui* in the title (specifically Tui Haa Teiho and Tui Haa Ngana) were in line to become Tui Tonga in event of the lack of a direct successor, whereas a chief like Ulukalala or Malupo was not.

Special rest places, mounds (*esi*), with a shade tree growing on or beside them, were built for chiefs. Sunshade or picnic shelters (*falekakala*, house of flowers) were also erected. The *esi* were given names. (See 25.)

A chief's sitting position is legs crossed and left foot on right knee (*faefakaheka*). When sitting among his inferiors, a pile of mats (*langolango* is provided to raise him above the common level.

In Tonga there seem to have been no official jesters, but at times certain individuals, termed *fakaaluma* or *fakatakataka*, who were considered particularly witty, took it upon themselves to amuse the chiefs. For example, Kaho, a man of Vavau, acted as *fakaaluma* for Akauola (grandfather of the present Akauola) and made fun of the people. He would say anything to make Akauola laugh. On one occasion he had himself tied like a pig and carried to a feast. My informant did not know whether this man was appointed. Akauola is one of the modern landed royal navigators (*toutai*).

A warrior who killed ten men and brought the heads as evidence was highly regarded and might be raised to the rank of a matapule or a petty chief (*eikisii*) and be given land; or again he might be given the privilege of drinking his chief's kava when it was called.

Anciently the staff (*tokotoko*) and the fly whisk (*fue*) were used by kings and chiefs but not by matapules. To-day, it is said, anyone may use them. The staff was used formerly not only in walking but to lean upon when addressing an assemblage. To-day the term *tokotoko* applies to the

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When the Tui Kanokupolu voyages, Ula acts not only as navigator but as matapule in general while at sea, and for three days after landing. Thereafter Motuapuaka, or his representative, resumes the duties. The same applied to Leka in relation to the Tui Tonga.

The two following versions of the origin of the title Ula are of interest.

Hiva is the name of a little stream running into the sea in Haa Vakatolo, Tongatabu. The Tui Tonga was there bathing, attended by Motuapuaka and Akauola, when a sturdy little child came along, running up to the king without any sign of fear. The king asked whose child it was and Akauola replied falsely that it was his. The king said it was a clever little boy (*tamasii fie ula*). The name of *fie ula* stuck and was the origin of the title Ula. The child came from no man knows whence and was probably a god.

According to Ahomee, Akauola had nothing to do with the incident. The child sat by the Tui Tonga, who said, "Toki tamasii eni oku fie ula" (Then the little boy here desires to be clever).

The Tui Tonga made him his chief *toutai*. His nickname (*hingoa fakatenetene*) was Ula. The gods of Haa Vakatolo brought about this elevation. Ula became the appointment name or office name of his successors. His seat is at Neiafu, Tongatabu.

The seat of the *toutai* Leka is at Nukuleka, Tongatabu. His representatives in Haapai and Vavau, Lutui and Akauola, are called Tua Leka. Lutui is said to be of Tokelauan origin. He was formerly *toutai* to the Tui Haa Takalaua, but now to the Tui Kanokupolu. Both Leka and Ula are now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

Another important navigator who seems to have been midway between a chief and matapule in rank was Tuita. A late bearer of the title was the son of the Tamaha Amelia. Whether it is Tuita, Leka, or Ula who is mentioned by Wilson (66, p. 100) as "admiral, or rather the navigator of their fleets," is not clear.

Arranged according to rank and importance matapules living on the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the great chief Ata are: Shadrach Katoa, chief matapule to Ata; John Laakulu, matapule to Ata; Shadrach Mohulamutefisi, matapule to Ata; Samuel Fakauho; Paul Eke, matapule to Ata; Josiah Tuliakiono, matapule to Ata; James Sikei, matapule to Ata; Josiah Pahulu, Watson Langiapuna, John Hifo Funaki, Julius Tava.

In Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, the three principal matapules in order of rank are Lutui, a *toutai*, Tea, and Mafifakapotu. If the queen were to visit Hihifo, Lutui might sit beside her in the kava circle.

ARTISANS AND OCCUPATIONS

Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 91) has carefully listed the Tongan occupations in order of rank as follows:

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Hereditary: matapule and *mua*
Canoe builders (*tufunga fou vaka*)
Cutters of whale-teeth (*tufunga fono lei*)
Funeral directors (*tufunga tapu*)
Hereditary: *mua* and *tua*
Stone-masons (*tufunga tao maka*) [or *aholangamaka*]
Net-makers (*tufunga sia kupenga*)
Fishermen (*tufunga toutai ika*)
Large house builders (*tufunga langafale*)
Hereditary or not: *mua* and *tua*
Tattooers (*tufunga ta tatau*)
Club-carvers (*tufunga tongi akau*)
Hereditary or not: *tua*
Barbers (*tufunga fai kava*)
Hereditary: *tua*
Cooks (*tangata fei umu*)
Peasants (*kai fonua*)

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It is to be noted that all of the occupations fall into matapule, *mua*, and *tua* ranks—people below the chiefly class. The term *tufunga* is applied generally to skilled artisans of all sorts. Artisans in addition to those listed by Mariner are *tufunga lalava* (sinnet artist) who applies the ornamental geometric designs in sinnet and *tufunga tui la*, sail maker. A ship carpenter not only does the actual carpentering but also the wrapping and tying of the sinnet. Many house carpenters, on the other hand, do only carpentering and leave the ornamental wrapping of the sinnet to the sinnet artist.

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In general, one man did not practice many different occupations. At the present time a *tufunga* in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, is both a house carpenter and a stone mason.

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The traditional origin of the various *tufunga* is unknown. The informant Josiah Paluto was positive that the first *tufunga langafale* in his family did not get the office from the Tui Tonga, but thinks it was a special reward for merit conferred by some local chief. All appointments were confirmed by the Tui Tonga, or by his local representatives; only those *tufunga* whose local chief was the Tui Tonga himself were invariably appointed directly by the Tui Tonga. Nowadays the Tui Kanokupolu confers the *tufunga* titles. As stated by informants, the rights of artisanship ran in the paternal line of descent, preference in each group being given to the oldest son. The order is: (a) sons; (b) brother's sons; (c) father's brother's sons and son's sons—(equal preference); (d) sister's sons; (e) father's sister's sons.

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The dominant determining element was the personal preference of the *tufunga*. If the father died before the son had reached dependable age, it became the family duty of that son to learn the craft as best he could, but not under the tutelage of a *tufunga* outside the family.

It was the duty of all sons to follow their father's trade but only the eldest son received his father's title. If the eldest son should so neglect his family duty as to repudiate the family craft, the next in order of relationship was given the opportunity, depending upon the choice of the old *tufunga*. An old *tufunga*, however, who arbitrarily and without apparent reason broke

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the order of family right to the craft, was severely criticized and socially punished by his family and even by his neighbors. The informant was in doubt as to whether the confirming chief would override such an illogical choice.

If the male members in the family of a *tufunga* lack aptitude, ambition, or any other necessary quality, or show decided inferiority in comparison with someone outside the family, this outsider, following a presentation of gifts to the *tufunga* (from the applicant's family), may be chosen to succeed to the order. This appointee's sons then continue to carry on the particular *tufunga* tradition and practice.

All the people of a village contribute toward the building of the chief's house under the direction of a single *tufunga*.

Some living representatives of *tufunga* families in Lifuka Island, Haapai, are as follows:

Josiah Paluto, *tufunga langafale* and *tufunga lalava*, his father, Job Femuiaki, his grandfather and his great-grandfather were also *tufunga;* Ngauamo, *tufunga vaka;* Femuiaki, *tufunga langafale;* Mailau Fuopau, *tufungataomaka.*

According to a Vavau informant, carpenters were called the "Children of Tangaloa Tufunga," that is, "Tangaloa the Artisan." A tradition states that before the time of Ulukalala, the carpenters were driven from Vavau during a war and went to Fiji to settle and that there they built a fort, so strong that the Fijians could not take it. This brief snatch of legend suggests a sort of organization on the part of the carpenters, but at the present time there is nothing in the nature of a carpenters' guild.

Only one person in a family held the title which went with a trade. As usual, the title seems to have descended most frequently from the father to the eldest son. Thus the predecessor of Eke, a boat builder of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, was his mother's father, who also was Eke—a title which is bestowed by the chief Ata. The present Eke had the title conferred upon him by the present Ata. Eke is of Samoan extraction and of matapule rank; in fact, the name Eke is a matapule name. An ancestor of the present Eke is believed to have come from Samoa in the time of Tohuia, the Samoan mother of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The father, paternal grandfather, and a great-grandfather of Fakauho, another house builder of the Hihifo district, all bore the same title and were all carpenters. The present Fakauho, popularly known as Fiso, had his title conferred upon him by the present Ata about 1910. Fakauho is also a stone mason and constructs stone burial vaults (*fonualoto*). Should the chief Ata want a house built, he orders the Fakauho to do the work. Fakauho's assistants are his relatives, but Ata orders commoners to help in the rough and heavy work.

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Coiled baskets (*katoulu*) are made by women, but never for their own use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at weddings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient, but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*.

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. (See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.)

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve as barbers for chiefs.

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.)

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

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Fangopo, a *toutai tuka* (navigator). The first Fangopo mentioned in the genealogies is Maheuliuli who was the son of a man named Kefu and a woman named Finau (son's daughter of the chief Maafutukuiaulahi who bore the personal name of Tangatailavalu). The next holder of the title Fangopo was Tokopau, the son of Maheuliuli. The genealogies mention also a Fangopo (perhaps not a title) who was killed at Pea in 1852 and who was the son of Mariner's friend, Halaapiapi.

Faoa, an *eikisii* (petty chief) who has charge of fishing at Hakau Tapu, Tongatabu. First appointee by Tui Haa Takalaua. Present appointee by Tui Kanokupolu.

Femuiaki, house builder and boat builder of Tuanekivale, Vavau. Forefathers appointed by Tui Tonga. Now appointed by Tui Kanokupolu.

Fetoaui, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) at Tuanekivale, Vavau Island.

Fevanga, a matapule to the Tui Tufu, chief of Eueiki Island, Tongatabu.

Fisilau, a matapule to Afu Haa Mango, mayor of Okoa and himself a matapule. The name Fisilau refers to Lau in Fiji, whence an ancestor came.

Fotu, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Vavau. The first Fotu mentioned in genealogies had two sons, Pala and John, who successively held the title. Enoch, a holder of the title, died December 8, 1899.

Haufano, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuafoou.

Helu, matapule. Present title holder is the mayor of Lotofoa, Foa Island, Haapai. The preceding Helu was his father, who had succeeded his older brother Jonathan Siale as Helu.

Hoakai (Soakai) to-day a chiefly title at Felemea in the island of Uiha. Formerly a matapule title. The original Hoakai was a Fijian. Until the downfall of the Tui Tonga Hoakai served as matapule to the Tui Talau, one of the Falefa chiefs (ministers to the Tui Tonga). (See p. 65.)

Holakeituai, a matapule, apparently created by Taufaahau (later George I) about 1830 as reward for bravery. The title means, "keep away from us, it might be too late," addressed to the chief. They were: Tufui, brother of Tuuhetoka and father's father's father of incumbent, son of Mapahaano, who was son of Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha; Mahe, son of Tufui; Paliono, son of Tufui; Job, son of Mahe; Samuel, son of Job; John Tupou, son of Job, incumbent.

Kama, a matapule title derived from the Ama chiefly title of the Safata district, Upolu Island, Samoa. (See p. 141.) Filise Vaitaiki was the personal name of the Kama of 1921.

Kaufanga, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuatoputapu.

Kepa, a matapule at Felemea, Uiha Island.

Kofe, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Kula, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) title held by a resident of Nukunukumotu Island, near Tongatabu. Serves the Tui Kanokupolu. An earlier holder of the title bore the personal names Faamoetoutai and Philip. He was nicknamed Kauikatea by the Tui Tonga, because of his expertness with the throwing-net. The incumbent of 1921 claimed relationship to the chief Ahomee and the great matapule Lauaki, both through his mother. At least one Kula is buried on Nukunukumotu, in the tract Feauhihoa.

Lamatauaki, sometimes shortened to Lamatau. The undertaker (*hoatufunga*) of the Tui Tonga. It is not clear whether this is a title or merely a name, as Lamatauaki is said to have succeeded Lauaki.

Latuahausano, one of the five matapule of the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai. See Vao.

Lauaki, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu, formerly to the Tui Tonga, then to the Tui Haa Takalaua. He is reputed to be of ancient Tongan descent, the first Lauaki having descended from heaven with the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu. He belongs to the Haa Maliepo. Lauaki is said to be the only matapule of strictly Tongan (divine) origin. The gecko was the incarnation of Lauaki's god. Lauaki was transferred by Tui Tonga

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Kauulufonua I to his brother the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungamotua. His name is said to refer to the transfer and to the Tui Tonga's message to the Tui Haa Takalaua, "Wait until three nights have passed and I will send him." One Lauaki bore the personal name of Langiloa, perhaps in reference to royal tombs (langi) where he officiated.

Lavemai, house builder and boat builder of Mangia, Vavau, appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. His forefathers were appointed by the Tui Tonga. The present Lavemai was preceded in office by his father.

Lavulavu, a matapule to the Tui Lakepa, by whom he is appointed. Resides on Ovaka Island, Vavau. Belongs to the Fale Fisi.

Leha, matapule to Jioeli Pangia (the man who probably would be Tui Tonga if the office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu). Leha's functions are house building and boat building. The first Leha came from Samoa. Compare Lehapoto and Lehauli (page 67).

Leka, navigator to the Tui Tonga. His seat is at Nukuleka, Hahake district, Tongatabu.

Leleimoepo, an ancient noted *toutai*. M. Taukololangi is his descendant. In 1920 the title was held by a matapule at Felemea, Uiha Island.

Lokoili, a *toutai vaka* (navigator) of Lape Island, Vavau. A title, bestowed in present instance by Veikune, Governor of Vavau, probably acting as viceroy for the Tui Kanokupolu.

Lomu, a *tufunga fale* and *tufunga vaka* (house and boat carpenter) to the Tui Tonga. Now appointed by Tui Kanokupolu. The present Lomu was preceded in the title by his father's father. Lomu was once chief of Mangia, Vavau, and a member of the Sinae ki Mua.

Lotoaniu, a matapule to the Tui Haa Teiho. Formerly he was matapule to the Tamaha, but as there is now no Tamaha he serves the chief who would be the brother of the Tamaha. The companion matapule to the Tamaha was Siakumi. The prospective next Lotoaniu is the oldest son of the incumbent.

Lulu, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Vavau Island. Title (?). (See page 147.)

Mahe, carpenter (*tufunga fale*) in Ofu Island, Vavau. Appointed by Tui Lakepa. The present Mahe succeeded upon the death of his elder brother. Besides being a carpenter, he was a matapule who would sit beside Tui Lakepa in a kava party.

Maliepo, celestial half-brother of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, whom he accompanied to earth. Lauaki is the matapule title of his descendants who served the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and now the Tui Kanokupolu. Maliepo was a member of the first Falefa (House of Four), ministers of the Tui Tonga. Maliepo is a synonym for Lauaki and is used in the kava circle.

Mapu, a matapule to the Tui Tonga. He is said to be of Fijian descent. He is a *toutai ika* at Talau, Vavau Island. His partner is Faingaa. Mapu and Faingaa may be the titular descendants of the two Falefa matapules of like name. (See pages 65, 147.)

Masila, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuafoou.

Maungatai, Julius Moala of Ata Island received this title. He became mayor of Kolomaile, Eua Island.

Mavae or Mavaehikila, navigator to the Tui Haa Takalaua, but now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. Present incumbent, residing on Hunga Island, Vavau, regarded himself as about the tenth holder of the title. His name before appointment was Kisione Lanivia. His predecessor was his father Lupe who was killed at the siege of Pea, Tongatabu, where he fought for the Tui Kanokupolu George I. The incumbent's parents were both Late people, although he was born in Hunga Island. The incumbent thinks the first Mavae was a Tongan and not a foreigner. The present Mavae was personally appointed at Nukualofa by the Tui Kanokupolu George I.

Moala, a *toutai* to the Tui Kanokupolu. He is of reputed Samoan descent and related to Akauola. Seat is in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

Motuapuaka, one of two great matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu. He is of Samoan lineage. Member of the Haa Molofaha. The octopus was the incarnation of Motuapuaka's god. The Motuapuaka in 1921 was an old man. His pre-appointment name was Mathew Makamoeafi, which had been bestowed upon him as a small boy by Ata. He had succeeded his father, he being the oldest living son. Earlier incumbents bore the names Fekeila and Thomas Tui Pulotu before their appointment. Thomas Tui Pulotu's mother was the daughter of an earlier Motuapuaka. Molofaha is the title used in the kava circle. See Maliepo.

Moungatonga, an alleged Falefa matapule residing in Pangai, Lifuka.

Ngalu, house builder at Haa Laufuli, Vavau.

Pahulu, title of a principal matapule of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Paku, a *toutai ika* to the Tui Tonga. Laufilitonga had Paku stationed at Maufanga to fish for him.

Palefau, a *toutai ika* at Tuanekivale, Vavau Island.

Pilimokaupua, a matapule title now held by Nomuka man. Title refers to Maufanga, Tongatabu Island, where earlier incumbents lived. One appointed in 1920.

Pouanga, head of a family or minor lineage in Hihifo, Lifuka.

Siaiku, a matapule of Neiafu, Vavau Island. Formerly matapule to the Tui Tonga, now for the Tui Kanokupolu, by whom he is now appointed. Belongs to the Fale Fisi.

Siakumi, a matapule to the Tui Haa Teiho. Formerly matapule to the Tamaha. As no Tamaha is now appointed, he has become matapule to the Tui Haa Teiho who would be the brother of the Tamaha. Tuuakitau, a man born on Ata Island was given the title by the Tui Haa Teiho. Lotoaniu was the companion matapule who served the Tamaha.

Sika, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuatoputapu.

Tafokitau, a matapule title held in 1920 by John Fusi of Lifuka Island, a man about 50 years old. Formerly the Tafokitau lived on the tract Feke, Lifuka Island. His duty was to supply the Tui Tonga with octopus when he desired it. The name Tafokitau is said to mean "to turn to right and left to fight."

Tafuna, a matapule of Uiha, Uiha Island, but not serving chief Malupo, to whom he stands in fictitious relation of "brother." Tafuna appointed by Malupo. Tafuna in 1920 had succeeded his father Moses Taufa, who also bore the title Tafuna.

Tahifisi, a matapule of Mataika, Vavau Island, formerly serving the Tui Tonga, now the Tui Kanokupolu. Tahifisi is a chief in Fiji, but only a matapule in Tonga. Belongs to the Fale Fisi. He appoints the Niutongo and Haveatuli. (See p. 69.) A recent Tahifisi bore the name Josiah Tui Pulotu. He was succeeded by his son Tongatoutai. According to Hocart (32), the first Tahifisi was the son of Sungu (daughter of Tui Tumbou of Lakemba) and of Tui Tufu, a Tongan chief.

Tahimatakimoana, a matapule of the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving chief Malupo.

Tangulu, a matapule at Navutoka, Tongatabu, about 1830. Name means "snore." Title (?).

Tea, a matapule of the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, not serving chief Malupo, to whom he stood in relation of "brother." Also the head of a family in Hihifo, Lifuka; perhaps identical with the Tea of Uiha.

Tei, a matapule originally appointed by the Tui Tonga to reside at Nomuka and supervise the catching and forwarding of *ava* fish. Still appointed. The Tei was a chief at Lapaha, Tongatabu, at first, but sent to Nomuka by the Tui Tonga.

Tofilau, a matapule, though apparently not serving any particular chief. Informant calls himself king's matapule. The father, grandfather, and great grandfather of informant all bore name Tofilau, as did also two brothers of his father. Residence, Pangai, Lifuka. The incumbent, an old man, was living when Laufilitonga died.

Tofilau 1 bore name of Kumi.

Tofilau 2 bore name of Josifa.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tofilau 3 bore name of Joel, father of informant (6).

Tofilau 4 bore name of Hekeheka
Tofilau 5 bore name of Atelu
} Their father was brother of 3.

Tofilau 6 bears name of Nepote; son of 3.

Tui Tupou, a matapule attached to Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, by whom he is appointed. Resides in Koulo, Lifuka Island. Belongs to Fale Fisi. It is said that the first Tui Tupou came to Tonga with a Tui Tonga who had been to Fiji on a visit. Possibly Tapuosi the Tui Lakepa is referred to rather than a Tui Tonga. The Tupou referred to in the title is said to be a village on Lakemba Island, Fiji.

Tukuafu, a matapule at Felemea, Uiha Island.

Uhatafe, a matapule and carpenter to the Tui Tonga. Of Samoan origin according to John Havea, of Rotuman origin according to Tapueluelu. According to a third informant the first Uhatafe came from Rotuma in the reign of the twenty-sixth Tui Tonga (Puipuifatu).

Uhi, a matapule to Ata. For origin of title see Vaeno.

Ula, a navigator title. The origin of Ula is Samoan. (See p. 143.) His seat is at Neiafu in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. The Tamaha's genealogies show a succession as follows: Ula, to his son's son Likuohihifo, to his son Amini. The late Queen Takipo, wife of King George II, was the daughter of an Ula.

Vaeno, a matapule to Tungi. Of Samoan origin. A Samoan woman in the train of Tohuia (mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu) gave birth to twins who became the matapule Uhi and Vaeno. Their names became titles for two lines of matapule. Uhi is matapule to Ata.

Vaipuna, a matapule of Uiha, Uiha Island; not matapule to the chief Malupo, to whom he stood in relation of "brother."

Vao, a matapule of the chief Malupo of Uiha village, Uiha Island.

Vatuvei, a matapule for the Tui Lakepa, by whom he is appointed. Resides on Okoa Island, Vavau group. Belongs to Fale Fisi.

Veahaki, a matapule title at Koulo, Lifuka. The graveyard of Veahaki's family is called Hangaitokolau.

Veamatahau, title of a matapule of the Falefa of the Tui Tonga.

Vehikite, a *toutai* title, at present held by a man of Otea, Kapa Island, Vavau. Formerly appointed by the Tui Haa Takalaua, now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. The personal names of the men whom the informant remembered as holding the title were, in order: Kitekeiaho; Halafauimoana; Ulilalelei; Tohoilangolelei; Fakafuli; John Tuita, the incumbent, his mother was the daughter of the noble Tuita.

TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

Table 9 summarizes the 203 title transmissions recorded in this paper. It shows that transmission is definitely patrilineal, there being but 7 through females: 5 to the daughter's son, 1 to the sister's son, and 1 to the son's daughter's son. The 26 records of transmission to brothers may embody preferences of a brother over a son, but it seems more likely that most fraternal successions were due to the lack of a son who possessed the needed qualifications.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

TABLE 9. TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

TRANSMISSION	TOTALS	MALE TONGA TUI HAA	MALE TUI TAKALAUA	TUI KANOKUPOLU	CHIEFS	MATAPULES, NAV'GTRS, PRIESTS, ARTISANS
To son	142	32	11	7	71	21
To brother	26	3		3	11	9
To brother's son	9			3	3	3
To father's brother's son	5				3	2
To daughter's son	5				3	2
To son's son	5				3	2
To father's brother	3			2	1	
To brother's son's son	2			1	1	
To father's father's brother's son	1			1		
To father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To father's father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To sister's son	1					1
To son's daughter's son	1			1		
To daughter	1			1		

BARDS

Bards, ordinarily ranking about on a level with matapules, have always occupied an honorable position in Tongan society, being regarded as the intellectual equals of the most brilliant minds. The poet Tuakilaumea was the son of matapule Motuapuaka. The poets Ulamoleka and Teukava were chiefs. In 1921 the chief Vaea was writing poetry.

The poems themselves reflect the social position and cleverness of their authors. The introduction (p. 88) to the "Poem of Mumui" (16, p. 98) indicates that the poet was liable to punishment for relatively small offenses. Because Tuakilaumea had appropriated a gift of kava intended for Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu, the poet's house was destroyed. Tuakilaumea, taking refuge in a sanctuary (Faletapu), composed a lay about Mumui. He then attached himself to the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea at Mua, where with a company of chanters he presented the lay. Mumui, learning of the clever poem, invited Tuakilaumea to Nukualofa to present it before him, thus evidencing his forgiveness of the kava appropriation.

Another poem (16, p. 71) indicates that for some small offense Ulukalala proceeded to set Mamaeaepoto on shore, much to the poet's chagrin. It is also recorded that the chief Ulamoleka ordered a poet to accompany him from Tongatabu to Eua, even though the poet's father was on his death bed.

Though the profession of bard seems to have been an honored one, the poets were very definitely dependent upon the patronage of the great chiefs. Here and there in the poems this protection is mentioned, usually metaphorically, by saying the poet is aboard a great vessel.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers, might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. However, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to. The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light, supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Methodist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Mohekifiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants declared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the chief to whom they are attached. They have the management of all ceremonies. Their rank is from inheritance; and they are supposed to have been, originally, distant relations of the nobles, or to have descended from persons eminent for experience and wisdom, and whose acquaintance and friendship on that account became valuable to the king, and other great chiefs. As no son of a mataboole can assume that rank and title till his father be dead, the greater part of them are beyond the middle age of life, and, as it is their business to make themselves acquainted with all rites and ceremonies, and with the manners, customs, and affairs of Tonga, they are always looked up to as men of experience and superior information*. Some of the matabooles are adepts also at some art or profession, such as canoe-building, or superintending funeral rites: this last, though a ceremony, the generality of matabooles do not attend, as it is also a distinct profession. Those few that are canoe-builders are very perfect in their art, and only make canoes for the king, or other great chiefs. The matabooles

565 [796] [463] [167] [396] [173]

* The rank and office of the matabooles must be a very great advantage to the Tonga people: it may be presumed to be one great cause of the superiority of this nation over the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, the Society islands, the Sandwich islands, &c.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

lower orders (the tooas), in which case they admonish them, and if they pay no attention, they report them to the older chiefs, and advise that something should be done to remedy such evils. They are very much respected by all classes. Tooas are the lowest order of all, or the bulk of the people. They are all, by birth, *ky fonnooa*, or peasants; but some of them are employed occasionally in the various occupations of performing the tattow, cooking, club-carving, and shaving, according to their abilities in these respective arts, and meet with encouragement by presents. Those tooas that are evidently related to mooas, and consequently have a chance of becoming mooas, are respected by those who can trace no such relationship.

PROFESSIONAL CLASS OF SOCIETY.—We now come to speak of those who draw respect rather than rank according to their usefulness in different arts and manufactures, more or less regarded. Some of these, as we have before seen, are matabooles, and rank accordingly; the greater part of them are mooas, and the remainder of course tooas.

Among those that practise the arts there are many that do it because their fathers did the same before them, and consequently have brought them up to it, and these are for the most part such as practise arts that are considered

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XXII.

000 General observations on the principal arts and manufactures—Canoe-building—Inlaying with ivory—Preparing graves—Constructing stone vaults—Net making—Fishing—House-building—Striking the tattow—Carving the handles of clubs—Shaving with shells—Cooking food—Enumeration of the principal made dishes—Making ropes; bows and arrows; clubs and spears—Manufacture of gnatoo, and mode of printing it—Making mats, baskets, combs, thread, &c.

THE next subject in order is the state of the 463 arts and manufactures. We have already spoken 462 as far as respectability is concerned, of those which constitute distinct professions, being for the most part hereditary*, and are all exercised by men: there are several other arts, however, some of which are practised by men, others by women, but which are not considered professional, as they do not constitute the business of a person's life; and the term *toofoonga*, (artizan), is consequently not applied to those who perform them: among these are principally the art of performing surgical operations; erecting

* See p. 87—91 of this volume.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

fortifications; making ropes, bows and arrows, clubs and spears, which are practised by men, whilst the manufacture of *gnatoo*, mats, baskets, thread, combs, &c., constitute the occasional employment of the women, even of those of rank. We shall give an account of each of the principal arts, beginning with those that are strictly professional.

Fo VACA, canoe-building. As it would be impossible to give an intelligible and accurate description of this ingenious and useful art, without referring to well-executed plates, and as this has been already so ably done in Cook's and d'Entrecasteaux's voyages, we presume it would be but an unnecessary intrusion upon the attention of the reader to attempt entering into such a description. It may here be noticed, however, that the Tonga people have obtained a considerable share of information in the art of building and rigging canoes, from the natives of the Fiji islands. It has already been observed, that, in all probability, the communication between these two nations, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, began on the part of the Tonga people, who being situated to windward, it is very likely that one or more of their canoes were formerly drifted to the Fiji islands by stress of weather; and although they have no tradition of such a cir-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Thus far with those arts that are strictly professional, and are practised by men; there are some others not professional, which are also exercised by men, viz. surgical operations, erecting fortifications, rope-making, and making bows and arrows, clubs and spears: the first has been treated of in Chap. 21, and for the second, see Vol. I. p. 90.

ROPE-MAKING. There are two kinds of rope, one made of the husk of the cocoa-nut, which is the superior sort, and the other of the inner bark of the *fow*. Although these ropes are made entirely by hand, yet even those of considerable circumference are laid with the greatest regularity: they are very elastic, and the strength of them is universally known. The husk of the cocoa-nut is first made into plait, which is then twisted into strands, and of these the rope is made. The bark of the *fow* is not first made into plait, but at once into strands.

BOWS AND ARROWS. The bows are generally made of the wood of the mangrove, though some few of the casuarina wood: the string is made of the inner bark of a tree they call *olongá*, and is exceedingly strong. The arrows are made of reed, headed with casuarina wood: some of these heads have three or four rows of barbs, and, to make them more formidable, are

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

342 283 closed, and the husks baked for about four days. Then the oven is opened, the husks removed and buried in the reef shallows for a further three or four days. Then the husks are placed on a wooden base and pounded with a wooden pounder until all the inter-fibrous material is removed. The fibres are dried and are now ready for braiding.

342 283 464 476 The braiding is done by a working-party consisting of men and women who are invited to a *kava* party. The fibres are rolled on the thigh or sole of the foot and are made into three-ply braid. Half a dozen men and women, working industriously will probably braid up to one hundred fathoms in a long evening's work. Until the required amount is finished, the prospective owner will use all his spare time braiding this sennit.

342 335 463 If the house is to be well built and something to be proud of, it is necessary to engage the services of an expert builder to supervise the building, lay out the framework, fit the poles and beams securely and neatly, and to tie the more ornamental and complicated lashings. If such an expert is not a relative, he is given today for his services a gift of perhaps [465] two pounds in cash for a one-fathom house, six pounds for a two-fathom house and proportionately more for a larger house. The size of the house is referred to in terms of the length of the rectangular central portion of the house, excluding the extra length provided by the apsidal ends. [461] A two-fathom house may take some two weeks to build if the work is carried on without major interruptions. If the expert is a member of the household or a relative, he would expect only a gift of a large pig together with food-staples for his services.

342 464 476 The heavy work of building and thatching together with all minor jobs are carried out by a working-party made up of members of the household, relatives, and friends. The workers are fed generously by the house-owner. Women make all the thatching-sheets, wall-mats and floor-mats. They also help prepare the food for the workers. The division of labour and the organization of work are such that many are called upon to help before the structure is at last completed.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

when respect is due to a superior. The materials are pandanus-leaves. The plaiting technique is typically Polynesian. The finest mats worn as *vala (ta'o vala fala)* are very scarce in Pangai today. They are about eight feet by six feet in size and plaited with twelve to fourteen elements to the inch. Such mats take an ordinarily industrious woman from two to three years to complete. Few Pangai women seem to have either the skill or the patience to make these mats today. They have therefore a great scarcity value. They are worn only on Sundays, special festive occasions or when meeting a superior. When not in use they are kept in safe, secret places to avoid any possibility of theft.

Many of the fine mats worn today have been inherited. Thus one woman has inherited hers from her mother's mother and expects in turn to pass it on to her own daughter. Both men and women wear these fine mats fastened with a length of braided or twisted sennit termed *ta'o vala kafa*. The sennit is worn round the waist on top of the mat. There appears to be no single and specific technique for making this sennit "belt." Each man makes his according to what skill he has at his command.

As the fine mats become rarer still in the village, it is likely that there will be developed some new material through the use of which respect may be symbolized. Possibly one of the finer and more expensive commercial cloths will be adapted to this end and will become as necessary an item of clothing as the fine mat is today.

EXPERTS

For most of the work activities of this Tongan village no more expert knowledge is required than is possessed by the average man or woman. He or she is capable of doing the task that is required or of acting as leader of group-work. Some types of work however, require the leadership and direction of a recognized expert (generically, *tufunga*), one who has special knowledge, acquired through training, of the relatively complex techniques involved. In Pangai today there are four recognized experts in the making of European-style houses, one expert in the building of Tongan houses; one expert undertaker; four expert dug-out canoe makers; two experts in the art of making the built-up plank-canoe;

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

three master-fishermen; three other fishing-experts; three experts in medicine. Excepting cases where one individual may be an expert in more than one activity, this gives a total of fifteen different experts, of whom two in medicine are women, the rest being men.[11]

In some of these activities men other than the experts often claim enough skill to carry them on at a lower than expert level of efficiency. Thus many Pangai men can put up with some degree of neatness a small Tongan-style house. If on the other hand, one wanted to build a large Tongan house, complete with ornamental lashings and finished to the last detail, then the services of the recognized village expert would be necessary. Again, many doctor themselves for small pains and aches. Should pain become acute or not readily yield to simple treatment, then one of the recognized experts will be called in.[12] Finally, a man may fish with success indifferent or otherwise, according to what skill, luck, or knowledge he possesses. Should it be desired however, to carry out a large communal fishing expedition, then it would be absolutely imperative to place the direction of such an expedition in the competent hands of one of the master-fishermen.

The varied skills of these experts and the compensations they receive for their services are mentioned elsewhere in the consideration of specific economic activities.

PLANTING AND CULTIVATION

Clearing of land to be used for gardens may be done at any time of the year. A suitable area is selected, due consideration being given to exposure to sun, shelter from prevailing winds, and relative nearness to the formed bush-tracks that lead back to the village. The trees and undergrowth are cut down and thrown to one side. When dry they may be burnt and the ashes scattered over the cleared

[11] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 143-146) mentions the names and duties of still other artisans who are not apparently represented today among the men of Pangai village.

[12] Native medical treatment is forbidden by law but is practised everywhere, even in villages that have easy access to Government medical service.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

868 dyes will not be acquired until the time of marriage. Mat-
[461] plaiting is a somewhat tedious job, according to the testimony of village women. Many girls and young women only take on the responsibility of making household mats when there are no other older women in the group to do the job. Post-adolescent boys and girls generally learn to make sennit. Finer skills, such as net-making, may be learned at any age depending upon necessity or interest.

In almost all cases the young person learns economic skills from members of his household, from close relatives, or friends. Special skills may be picked up as opportunity offers from anyone available. Thus, of the four expert
868 net-makers in Pangai, one man learned from a friend whom
286 he visited in another village, a second man learned from a
463 chance visitor from another village whom he met at a Pangai *kava*-circle, and two further women learned subsequently from this latter Pangai man. In both cases the women seem to have acquired the skill because male relatives showed interest in net-fishing and desired nets for themselves.

871 The necessities of formal education in the three " R's "
872 which affect all Tongan children up to the age of fourteen years do not seem to interfere greatly with the native processes of economic education. There is a one-room schoolhouse in Pangai with practically none of that equipment that would be considered essential in even the poorest European school. The present schoolteacher is a native of the neighbouring village of Utungake who comes to Pangai each day for the school-session. School hours are short, vacations are long. The school-work (teaching is in the vernacular) is certainly not arduous or exacting, judged in terms of demanded efficiency and prescribed standards. There are plenty of opportunities for school-children to help and work with their parents and thus to acquire the minimum techniques of earning a living from the Tongan soil. At no time did any parents complain of an interference by school-demands with today's normal functioning of Tongan culture in relation to the progressive socialization of the Pangai child.

871 A few of the youth who graduate from the village-school
873 may continue their education at a government or mission college in Tongatapu. These would be the youth whose
[464] parents might foresee certain advantages to be inherent

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

sources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although, as we shall shortly have reason to show, heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatabu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself.

The political constitution of the country was that of a monarchical despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. The ranks of society, besides the priestly orders, were well defined, and fixed as unalterably as the castes of India. The grades were these:—the *Hau*, or families of the blood royal; the *Houeiki*, or chieftain orders; the *Muas*, or gentry; the *Matabules*, or official attendants and companions of the higher classes; and the *Tuas*, or common people. Certain subdivisions were also recognised under each of these orders, and professional employments were strictly hereditary; such as those of carpenters, fishermen, undertakers, doctors, &c., &c.

Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly through the females; who sometimes, although rarely, held the reins of government in their own right. Hence the women of Tonga were never oppressed and burdened, as in many heathen lands. On the contrary, the females of these islands were kindly and considerately treated, and we might almost say they were idolized by the sterner sex.

It must, however, be observed, that the succession of rank through the mother originated, probably, in the great licence existing between the sexes. If it were difficult to designate the father of a child with certainty, no doubt could exist with re-

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

of Tongatapu Island 16 miles from the capital, Nuku'alofa. This village was selected for field work because it is one of the most isolated villages in Tongatapu and because it is supposed to have retained the traditional way of Tongan life. The size of the village was also suitable for the study. Although I tried to speak the Tongan language as much as possible for my daily life, the information for the study was collected in English through an interpreter who was nineteen years old.

I The Village

The People

According to the Government census of 1956[5] the population of Nukuleka was 209 (107 males, 102 females). There were 219 (109 males, 110 females) by my enumeration in December 1962. In spite of the rapid population growth of the Kingdom in recent years, the increase of population of this village has been slight. Among these 219 persons, there are 15 temporary residents made up of two families whose heads serve as the stewards for the two different churches in this village. These 15 residents being excluded, 204 is the village population. Of these 37 were born outside the village (male 10, female 25 and children 2). Eight married men have come from elsewhere and two younger single men live at the home of relatives. The 25 women are married to the villagers. The two children were brought here on their mother's second marriage. Against the 37 who moved in, there are 36 who moved out of this village (male 13, female 23). This figure is the number of persons who are brothers and sisters of the present villagers and were born in Nukuleka but now live elsewhere. It is difficult to count the moved-out otherwise. Most of them, especially women, married out, and a few left the village because they received land in another place or because they were adopted by the relatives.

All the inhabitants are Tongan. There are 49 adult men over sixteen years of age who are old enough to be entitled to receive *api tukuhau*, tax allotment, and *api kolo*, town allotment, and at the same time are obliged to pay poll tax according to the Tongan law. The village had been the noble estate held by S. Pangia, but the Government took over direct control in the 1920s.[6] Simultaneously, the Government confiscated extra land from the men who had had larger *api tukuhau* and redistributed them to more villagers. Today, however, only 28 villagers have *api tukuhau* of about 8¼ acres each. A further 21 who are entitled to it have not yet received it. The latter borrow the land to cutivate from their relatives or friends. Therefore, all men, without exception, are working the land.

Besides agriculture, the villagers are engaged in fishing. The village location being favourable to fishing, a number of men go out to sea nearly every day. Most of the fish are consumed within the village, but a few

5. Report on the Result of the 1956 Census by Authority, 1958.
6. In the map after Gifford (1929) Nukuleka was a noble estate held by Pangia. A villager told me that the Government had examined the documents of the village in the law court and had taken it lawfully from him, although I could not find the record in the office.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

cash income other than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra. In other words, almost 30 percent of the households in the village had no-one in the household engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. Sources of household income in the other households are set out in Table 14. In these households there were a total of 54 government employees, both men and women, including 17 teachers and 5 clerks. Besides government employees, there were persons employed as laborers in various enterprises and others employed by the churches (generally as teachers in the church-run schools). In addition there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women who each kept a large flock of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in Nuku'alofa, there were three privately-owned sheds hired out for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a dance band, a woman had a dress-making shop in Nuku'alofa, and so on. Other sources of income of people in Motulahi included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts. Finally, the category "other activities" in Table 14 includes three fishermen, the local Town Officer (who receives a govern-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

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434
621

TABLE 14

Sources of Household Income Other Than (Or in Addition to) the Sale of Coconuts and Copra

Source of income	In relation to further sources of income			
	This is the only other source (72 households)	There is one further source (27 households)	More than one further source (4 households)	Total number of households with this source (households = 103)
Government employment	26	10	3	39
Church employment	10	8	1	19
Private employment	12	8	1	21
Watermelons	8	7	2	17
Business enterprises	2	10	2	14
Handicrafts	4	2	2	8
Remittances from kin	6	4	2	12
Income from land*	-	3	-	3
Other activities	4	2	1	7
TOTAL	72	54	14	139

Source: fieldwork survey and field notes.

* This refers to rent or a share of the crop. It does not include those cases where the loan of land is reciprocated by occasional 'gift' baskets of food.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 ment stipend), a household composed of two Mormons
463 serving their period as "missionaries" away from their home village (supported by members of the local congregation), a lawyer, and a builder.

463 In many cases, the income-producing activities described above were not full-time occupations; a person might be engaged in more than one occupation or be engaged in different occupations at different times of the year. These elements make it difficult to classify the village
463 population in terms of occupation. This difficulty is
434 compounded by the fact that non-agricultural activities
592 were seldom the major source of household income. In most of the households in Motulahi, subsistence production and copra production were the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities served mainly to provide
592 a more or less regular flow of cash. On the other hand,
511 households without some source of supplementary cash
434 income had a noticeably lower standard of living. Among
[342] them, for example, there was a greater proportion of the old-style coconut-thatch houses and shabby old wooden houses (probably because households without supplementary sources of income found it difficult to save the relatively large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house).

592 The major part of the everyday cash requirements and
423

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

village had no one engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. In the remaining households, there were a total of 54 government employees, both men and women, almost all of whom worked in the main town. In addition, there were persons employed outside government (mainly as laborers in various enterprises), or by one of the churches (usually as teachers in a church-run school). Besides people with jobs, there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women kept large flocks of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in the main town, there were three privately owned sheds that were hired for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a band, a woman had a dress-making shop in town, and so on. Other income-producing activities of people in the village included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts.

In many cases, the income-producing activities described here were not full-time occupations, nor were they the major source of income for the household. In most of the households in the village, subsistence production and copra production are the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities serve mainly to provide a more or less steady flow of cash. On the other hand, households with no source of supplementary income enjoy a noticeably lower standard of living. Among these, for example, there is a greater proportion of the old-style, coconut-thatch houses or old and shabby wooden houses—people without supplemental sources of cash income find it more difficult to obtain the large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house.

The major part of the everyday cash requirements and other material needs of a household are provided for if the household has access to an agricultural allotment (*'api 'uta*). Although this is not the place to describe the Tongan system of land tenure in any detail,[11] the following notes will suffice to indicate the major elements involved in a household's having access to an allotment. In theory, every male over the age of 15 is entitled to an agricultural allotment of 8¼ acres registered in his name. In practice, however, about 60% of all who are eligible do *not* have land in their names (largely because of shortages stemming from the pressure of increasing population). Some men, on the other hand, have effective control over more than one allotment,

11 For articles dealing with the system of land tenure, see Maude (1972) and Nayacakalou (1959). In addition, refer to Rogers (1969) for a discussion of the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968) that focuses on the findings relating to population increase and its effects on land holding.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kingdom's total population, had 58.9% of the total households with two family units and 63.2% of the households with three or more family units. The Report does not distinguish whether households with several families have come about as a result of grandparents, son and wife, and grandchildren living in the same household, or as a result of brothers and their wives sharing one household. It is also unclear how the local census officers demarcated dwelling units clustered together and cooperating as the one single household. In many parts of Tonga there is a precedent in custom for three or even four generations of the same kin-group to live within the same *'api*, the family unit of the oldest son occupying the main dwelling with other units (parents and unmarried siblings; families of married siblings) having separate dwellings around. Because of the traditional brother-sister *tapu* there may be an additional hut for unmarried sons. There is less precedent in Tongan custom for two or more family units of the same generation (e.g. siblings, their spouses and children) to live within the one dwelling: this could be a criterion of overcrowding.

It seems from the census figure of 16% ("households" with more than one family unit) that overcrowding is not yet severe in Tonga except in Nuku'alofa. Here families of siblings are sharing dwellings, and huts are being built on swamp land. Elsewhere, the occurrence of households containing more than one family unit may be accounted for as the persistence of the traditional co-resident extended family, comprising several generations where each "extra" family unit may have its own separate dwelling house which may or may not have been recorded in the census schedule as a household. The increase in average household size has been accompanied by a fall in average overall acreage of land per household from 15.08 acres per household in 1956, to 10.98 acres in 1966.

* * *

The population densities already discussed have little meaning except in relation to the availability and utilization of natural, agricultural and human resources. The natural resources of Tonga comprise almost exclusively the soils, reefs and surrounding seas with, in late 1968, an elusive possibility of oil; the agricultural resources comprise almost entirely trees—particularly coconut, banana, breadfruit—and ground crops grown mainly without mechanical aids by slash-and-burn methods. Human resources are discussed at the end of this paper.

Dependence on agricultural produce is enormous; in 1961 and 1964 these products amounted to 98.19% and 96.39% respectively of Tonga's total export earnings with copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) forming the basis of the economy and constituting over 80% of the visible exports throughout the 1960s.[6] Agricultural products are the surpluses and small cash-crops of Tonga's 12,000 or so peasant farmers who are scattered throughout the Kingdom and rent their allotments either from titled nobles or directly from the Government.

6. TONGA, 1960-1967 *passim*. Total exports for 1961 amounted to £T1,374,658; agricultural exports £T1,349,461; non-agricultural exports £T25,197.

50: Pulu I-5 (no date) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

103 114 [565] [463] [538] There is little doubt that Mr Gifford's Tongan "scholars" did their best, but the two Tongan men he relied on were chiefs, and chiefs were seldom trusted with chronicles which were often associated with place names. This knowledge was trusted to spokesmen, and theirs was the task of knowing place names which perserved for posterity the unwritten historical events that had transpired at those places. The European Tongan scholars, too, could not have been sufficiently versed in Tongan oral traditions and histories to be able to go beyond a mere literal translation of the meanings of many place names.

103 114 538 [123] The stories given later on in this paper will help to illustrate how important it is to know oral traditions if one is to give correct meanings to place names. These stories were well known to the old people of Ha'apai islands but now are known to only a few. I learned of these stories at the many informal gatherings at my father's house where I was frequently called to serve kava. I treasured this delightful task as I could sit inconspicuously behind the kava mixer and listen to the older people tell tales of former days. And so later, when I saw Gifford's book and the erroneous meanings he had given to these places, I was shocked and grieved, for the present trend in Tonga is to accept anything in black and white as the absolute truth. Gifford's written words will be the accepted authority in the meanings of Tongan place names, and the true non-recorded meanings of some of these place names will pass on to forgotten history with the death of their tellers.

[18] [212]

103 114 104 194 196 Going hand in hand with Gifford's lack of knowledge of historical events and the deficiencies of the orthography[2] that he used, are the complicating factors of the dynamics of language change at work. This gives some names a different pronunciation from the original, and thus makes a difference in their meaning unless one knows what they originally referred to.

Let us look at how this factor of language change has modified the following two words: /'auhangamea/ and /te'ekiu/ which Gifford listed as:

1. "Auhangamea. Panting to destroy things (auha, destroyed; nga, to pant; mea, things; perhaps referring to the heaving of the billows from the open ocean.) Strait between Tatafu and Uoleva island (H)."[3]
2. "Teekiu. Plover excrement (tee, excrement; kiu, plover Haradrius fulvus). Village on Tongatapu island (T). Also a track on Nomuka island (H). Also a tract near Hihifo, village on Foa island (H)."[4]

A correction to Gifford's spelling of Auhangamea to get its present pronunciation must be made with the addition of the glottal stop before the initial vowel. Gifford listed this word as having three morphemes: (auha + nga + mea) with their respective meanings as listed above. The original pronunciation of this word was /'auha + 'anga + me'a/ containing the morphemes /'auha/ "to suffer destruction" /'anga/ nominalising suffix, and /me'a/ "thing;" this was reduced to /'auhangamea/ by deletion of /'a/ from /'anga/ to form /nga/, and the elimination of /'/ from /me'a/ to form /mea/. The meaning thus formed from this compound word is "the place where things are destroyed, or lost."

[539] This name was not given to the strait because of "the heaving of the billows" as suggested by Gifford, nor was it given to commemorate a "trivial event," but to record orally an important event long forgotten by most except the few story tellers who still remember the legend of Sisimata'ila'aa whose carelessness caused the bag of curses to be opened while the boat of the Tu'i Tonga was crossing it.

2. In the orthography used by Gifford, there is representation of neither the glottal stop nor the vowel length, both of which are phonemes of high frequency.
3. Gifford 1923:42.
4. Ibid.:218.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

barb'd. With the large ones they catch Bonneto & Albicore by putting them to a large Bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a line as long, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood fix'd in the stern of the Canoe for that purpose, and is dragg'd on the surface as she rows along without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff[1] near the point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of which are of a very delicate texture, that they use to catch fish with in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs, besides barb'd gigs which they strike some with, each of which are so numerous that shows much of their time is employ'd in that business; & it is the only thing that can be reckon'd laborius where we find the women are sometimes engag'd, and where they handle the paddle as dexterously as the men.

The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical reeds, flutes, warlike weapons and stools or rather pillows[2] to sleep on. The reeds have eight, nine or ten pieces plac'd parallel to each other but do not observe that simple progression in length as the ancient ,[3] having the longest sometimes in the middle &c and several of the same length, so that I have seen none with more than six notes. They seem incapable of playing any regular music on these, at least not distinguishable by our ears, though it seems very strange they should invent an instrument whose powers they must certainly be acquainted with and not be able to apply it to use, at least not generally. The flutes are a joint of Bamboo close at both ends, with a hole near each and four others, two of which & one of the first only are us'd in playing.[4] They apply the Thumb of the left hand to close the nostril of that side and blow into the hole at one end with the other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole on that side and the fore finger of the right to the lowest of the same side. In this manner though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing yet simple music which they vary much more than the notes would seem to admit of. Whether the other holes have any use in this case I am not certain, but one of their very evident intentions is to serve as a double flute, for the other two holes & that at the end are placd exactly in the same order as the others so that they play indifferently with either end. Their being accustom'd to a music which consists of such few notes is perhaps the reason why they do not seem to relish any of ours, which is so complex, but they seem very sensible of any that is more deficient than their own, as they us'd to be well

[1] Teased out hibiscus bark would be so used.
[2] *kali*, pillows.
[3] Probably 'syrinx' was the word he was in search of. The Tongan name was *mimiha*.
[4] The *fangufangu*.

245 rhinocerous beetle has damaged a large percentage of trees. The banana crop has recently been infected with a fungus, black leaf streak disease, to such a degree that many of the growers have stopped planting commercial crops, and in the remaining plantations the yield is insufficient to allow profitable harvest. Damage done by careless packing and [439] improper storage during shipment is resulting in the dissatisfaction of importers.

241 [162] [463] The 1966 Census of Tonga shows that 66.6 percent of all adult males were engaged in agriculture (Fiefia 1968: 28). Table 3 gives a full breakdown of occupation of Tongan males.[A] Agricultural techniques are a [177] [178] mixture of the traditional techniques-swidden agriculture, bush fallow periods, and hand tools-and modern methods including the use of fertilizers, light machinery and single crop planting. The older techniques 241 are still the more widely used. A friable, well-drained, and easily- 134 worked soil is the predominant type. Maude (1965: 12-18) gives a fairly detailed discussion of Tongan soils, their fertility, and their geologic origins.

241 [656] Tongan agriculture is subsistence oriented and cash-cropping remains a secondary consideration for most Tongans, with the exception that law requires the planting and maintenance of a certain number of 464 coconut palms. Wage labor provides income for only a few (Table 3) and 465 wages are low, averaging somewhere between $T1.00 to $TI.75 a day; most wage labor positions are in the area of services.[1] [B]

A. [See p. 19--Analyst] B. [Footnote appears on p. 122--Analyst]

TABLE 3

Occupations of Tongan Males 1966*

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463
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Area of Occupation	Percent
Agriculture	66.6
Commerce	.9
Transport and Communications	1.6
Services	8.3
Part-Manufacturing and Processing	2.8
Government and Administration	.6
Other (including unemployed)	19.2
Total	100.0

* Adapted from Table A, page 28 of Report on the Results of 1966 Census.

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE ECONOMICS AND MODES OF EXCHANGE

433 181 178 Village economy in present-day Tonga is a composite of traditional forms of production, consumption, and exchange and Western modes of economic integration. The change from the traditional to the modern has proceeded slowly in an atmospere of conservatism and pride in maintaining the traditional life style. Traditional attitudes and values tend to force disbursement of acquired cash into areas which bring about so- 128 cial prestige rather than capital formation. In this chapter I would like to describe village economy as it exists under this situation of change. I also will describe and discuss the various types of exchange utilized.

Cash Income

241 The village economy is subsistence oriented and relies upon labor- [434] intensive, swidden agriculture as the production base. All household heads rely to some extent on cultivation for meeting basic dietary requirements and usually combine with gardening some other subsistence pursuit to provide variation in their diet and to provide cash for other 463 needs. Table 11 gives the dominant occupation for forty-two household heads in Puke.

434 Cash income is derived from several sources including the sale of copra, fresh coconuts, bananas and other produce, fish, and handicrafts.

[See p. 74--Analyst]

TABLE 11

463

Primary Occupation of Village Household Heads*

Occupation	Frequency	Frequency in Percent
Cultivator	25	59.5
Fisherman	5	11.9
Wage Laborer	6	14.3
Overseas Laborer	2	4.8
Other	4	9.5
Total	42	100.0

[125] * Figures based on January 1971 census by author.

434 Wage labor and gifts of money from kinsmen working overseas also contri-
[459] bute substantially to money income.

434 An examination of income data from twenty Puke households indicates
463 that the economic strategy followed by Tongan peasants is security
464 through diversity (Tables 12 and 13). Occupational specialization is usually impractical as most income sources available are affected by
[258] critically-fluctuating market conditions. As an example, the buying of mature coconuts for processing into desiccated coconut sometimes ceases completely so that a grower relying upon this market suffers periods of no income. Over time reliances on various income sources also vary considerably so that a man may do wage labor for a short time until he is fired or the job terminates, and then may fish or make copra if those activities are profitable.

592 In most households women and children, particularly girls, contri-
434 bute substantially to household income by producing basketry, bark cloth,
439 shell jewelry, and other handicrafts. These items are sold directly to tourists in Nuku'alofa or less frequently to exporters. Women also oc-
592 casionally assist their husbands in gardening and fishing.
462

Cash Expenditure: The Spheres of Obligation

434 Tongans generally view cash income as a necessity for meeting three
511 types of obligations: obligation to support one's church (kavenga faka-siasi), obligation to educate one's children (kavenga faka'ako), and obligation to support the members of one's household (kavenga faka'api). Ideally, only after these obligations have been met can an individual

[See pp. 76-77--Analyst]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78]

454 membership. Money-saving associations are found in all social and eco-
456 nomic categories but seem to be most popular among wage laborers. In the village of Puke there were only two money-saving associations operating during 1971. One was formed for the purpose of house building and had only two members; the other was formed to save money for Christmas and New Year expenses. Both follow the model of a savings club rather than a rotating credit association. Virtually no individuals in the community save money on a long-term basis and none utilizes the banking facilities in Nuku'alofa.

The Subsistence Economy

463 As indicated in Table 11, thirty of the household heads in Puke follow occupations which are subsistence oriented, i.e., gardening and fishing. The traditional roles of the cultivator and the fisherman are [554] [178] still highly valued, and techniques have apparently changed little in 181 the post-contact period. The ideology inherent in the production and consumption of certain foods, particularly yams and pigs, is parallel to, and integrated with, the ideology of class and kin.

Division of Labor

462 Work is divided primarily by the criterion of sex. Men do nearly all gardening and fishing; they also construct and repair houses and canoes, cook when an earth oven is used, and take care of livestock. The women wash, sew, cook for most daily meals, take care of children, weave mats and make tapa cloth (ngatu). They also collect reef foods,

[See p. 74--Analyst]

462 edible wild fruits, pandanas for weaving, and mulberry wands (hiapo) which provide the bark for tapa cloth.

463 335 178 Specialization is common and always part-time. Two men in Puke are specialists in carpentry and neatly divide the available demand by one specializing in the knowledge of traditional carpentry and the other specializing in Western design and methods. Some projects call for the skills of both men, thus affording them a chance to contrast their approaches. While one scurries about taking measuremnts with a steel ruler and making references to smudged pencil marks on paper scraps, the other relies on eye-balling and his ability to reassure others with knowing grunts of wisdom. Oddly, the two techniques seem compatible, both being equally incomprehensible to non-carpenters.

463 Other specialties found in Puke were the construction of fishing paraphernalia, the practice of native medicine by both men and women, undertaking, and canoe building, The village fishermen are also recog- [226] nized as specialists, particularly a man who was the only one who could consistently take lobster by what was understood as a secret method. No individuals seemed to be recognized as specialists in gardening, but some of the older men were conceded to be the most knowledgeable in that area.

241 Gardening

Utilization of the garden plots follows a rotation plan wherein products most important in terms of their social prestige are planted and harvested immediately following a fallow period. The next crop

613 matakali tends to be a residence group rather than a
621 segment of the larger lineal group.

565 As a result of the Constitution of 1875, the more
641 modern title of noble (nopele) was created and, by 1882, a
[178] number of the traditional chiefs (from the more powerful
ha'a) and three high-ranking matapule had been appointed
[423] nobles. These nobles have the right to elect their own
parliamentary representatives in the government and, along
with six additional matapule, hold legal title to land in
the form of hereditary estates or tofi'a. Legally, there
are 33 nobles; however, there are only 29 title holders at
present, owing to the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965:
[178] 56). The traditional chiefs who were not designated as
nobles, although retaining their titles, presently have
little or no political power, and are functional primarily
in a ceremonial capacity.

565 According to Aoyagi (1966) and Morton (1972), most
613 Tongan commoners do not know their ha'a relationship, but,
423 on the basis of residence, generally claim an affiliation
571 to the noble or traditional chief who is the "landlord" of
their district, thus establishing a social relationship
based on land tenure.

● 463 A further facet of Tongan social organization was the
565 position of the artisan or craftsman. In the traditional
554 sense, the possession of skills and the rights to profes-
[428] sions, such as carpentry, net making, boat building,

463 565 554 [428] [178] medicine, deep sea fishing, and funeral directing, was hereditary. Consequently a class of artisans arose in the society and, as a result of their inherited roles, were ranked somewhat above the Tongan commoner. In some cases, there are still families or individuals who, although technically commoners, are shown special respect owing to their positions as traditional artisans or craftsmen.

571 554 In addition to these traditional rankings and ties, there are numerous contemporary ties which determine an individual's position or behaviour within the society.

642 The present government is a constitutional monarchy, comprised of the King, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, a Cabinet, 645 Privy Council, and a Parliament. The Cabinet includes the Speaker, Ministers of the Crown, the Governors of Ha'apai and Vava'u, and is presided over by the Prime Minister, Prince Tu'ipelehake (the King's brother). All Ministers are appointed by the King and hold their positions until retirement age. The Cabinet becomes the Privy Council when 646 presided over by the King. The Parliament consists of the Cabinet Ministers, seven nobles elected by the hereditary nobles, and seven commoners elected every three years by the people.

554 565 645 646 Although some members of government have high rank in the traditional social structure, those Members of Parliament elected by the people and appointed Ministers of the Crown constitute the contemporary elite, often more

423 Table 15. Class of tenure on town allotments held by sample households.

Village	Registered	Un-Registered	Tem-porary	Rented	Total
Haveluliku	3	5	0	0	8
Fatumu	8	13	1	0	22
Kolonga	9	8	6	1	24
Houma	4	15	2	0	21
Kolovai	14	1	1	0	16
Ha'ateiho	10	11	1	1	23
Kolomotu'a	11	0	1	0	12
Kolofo'ou	19	3	1	2	25
Ma'ufanga	6	3	1	1	11
TOTAL	84	56	14	5	159

433 Economy

The Tongan economy is predominantly agricultural, with a secondary dependence on fishing and, more recently, tourism.

463 462 162 Importance of Agriculture

According to the 1966 census, 67 percent of males over 15 years of age were employed either directly or indirectly in agriculture (Table 16) and 81 percent of Tongan women over 15 years of age are occupied with domestic chores

162 Table 16. Number of economically active males and females over 15 years of age in specified occupations.

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Industry	Males	Females
Agriculture	13,827	69
Commerce	180	173
Communication	334	7
Service	1,715	607
Manufacturing and processing	579	18
Government and administration	124	0
Domestic industry	33	16,447
Unclassified	3,974	2,732
TOTAL	20,766	20,053

Source: Fiefia,1968:72-74.

463 462 162 around their own households, including preparation of agricultural crops and handicrafts, and working in dooryard gardens or on the bush allotments.

463 A high percentage of Tongan males employed in agriculture is also shown by the survey of households conducted by the author in 1971 (Table 17). These data show a majority were full-time farmers and that another 15 percent had some other employment, such as a village storekeeper, part-time banana inspectors/or a lay preachers, but still considered themselves primarily farmers. Out of 149 households, there were 39 households with more than one full-time farmer (one household with five; two with four; eight [461] with three; and 28 with two). Of the 36 heads of households who considered themselves full-time wage workers, 58 percent put in some time, ranging from 1 1/2 to 16 hours per week farming on their allotments. Of these 36 full-time wage earners, five did not own allotments.

262 241 Subsistence Needs

The Tongan diet continues to be largely dependent on staple and subsidiary crops grown on traditional garden allotments. In a listing of the relative importance of 262 439 items in the diet (Table 18), only a few imported items 128 such as bread (made from imported ingredients), mutton, [263] and canned fish rank high on the list. Imported luxury items used more for flavor than nutrition, such as canned fruits, gelatin desserts, ice cream, sugar, salt, and canned or dried milk, are not listed.

000 dried milk, are not listed. Furthermore, despite increasing
241 imports of cosmetics, medicine, tea, coffee, soda pop,
439 alcoholic beverages, and tobacco products, the Tongan agricultural system continues to be the major source of traditional medicines, perfumes, oils, soap subsitutes, ingredients for beverages (including alcoholic "home brew" or hopi and the traditional social beverage kava), as well as being a source of tobacco, vegetable dyes, fish poisons, and other miscellaneous necessities (see Appendix F).[A]

463 Table 17. Occupations of heads of households for sample households on Tongatapu.

	Outside Nuku'alofa		In Nuku'alofa		Tongatapu	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Full-time Farmer	64	61	15	34	79	53
Part-time Farmer	17	16	5	11	22	15
Full-time Wage Worker	13	12	23	52	36	24
Unemployed	11	11	1	2	12	8
TOTAL (Sample)	105	100	44	100	149	100

[A] [Author probably means Appendix E; see Category 137, pp. 377-431--Analyst.]

434 copra for cash(Table 20), and many other sources of income
434 were also related to the agricultural system. Of 141
households, there are fifteen that have at least one female
462 wage earner, four with women shopkeepers, three with women
463 who sold products at the market, and 53 with women who made
and sold handicrafts.

434 Table 20. Percent of households having at least one member
463 receiving income from specified sources (Based on 141
369 households on Tongatapu).

Source	Non-Urban	Urban	Total
Full-time wage earners	21%	82%	40%
Part-time Wage earners	14%	27%	18%
Makes copra	45%	7%	33%
Sells coconuts	66%	32%	55%
Ships bananas	33%	2%	23%
Ships melons	13%	2%	10%
Ships other produce	9%	5%	8%
Sells at market	44%	2%	31%
Sells handicrafts	48%	23%	40%
Sells meat(beef,pork,etc.)	31%	7%	23%
Sells fish	14%	5%	11%
Sells in village	11%	0%	8%
Shopkeeper	3%	2%	3%
Remittances	30%	32%	50%

434 Table 20. Continued.

463 Other sources	5%	16%	9%
369 Total sample size	97	44	141

434 The great diversity of store goods which are now desired by the average Tongan family (Tables 21 and 22) emphasizes the growing need for cash. In addition, cash is needed for church, school fees, taxes, and to fulfill social obligations within the family, the village, and to nobles or even to the town officer in some cases.

439 [241] Overseas Income

The primary source of Tongan overseas income is the agricultural system. During the period from 1967 to 1971, products of agricultural origin constituted 97 percent by value of all exports (Table 23). The remaining 3 percent included re-exported motor vehicles, empty containers such as oil drums and gas cylinders, goods under bond, and personal effects. A small proportion of the total value of exports is made up of agricultural products sent by Tongans as gifts to relatives overseas, including yams, taro, bananas, watermelons, sugar cane, mangoes, kava, pineapples, and handicrafts. Such items fulfill social obligations and indirectly account for considerable income in the form of remittances from the (grateful) recipients of the goods.

[431] [602]

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

128 The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: 1) to summarize the findings on the nature and importance of the Tongan agricultural system as practiced in bush and town allotments in 1971 - 72; 2) to suggest trends or developmental paths that the system is likely to follow.

241 ## Nature and Importance of the Agricultural System

241 The importance of agriculture in Tonga cannot be over-
463 emphasized. At the 1966 census, 67 percent of the Kingdom's males over 15 years of age were either directly or indirectly employed in agriculture, with 64 percent being directly involved in agricultural production for household consumption (Fiefia, 1968 : 74). Similarly, the results of the questionnaire survey of households on Tongatapu indicated that 53 percent of the heads of 150 households were full-time farmers, 15 percent part-time farmers, 24 percent wage-earners, and 8 percent unemployed. Of the wage-earners (the majority of whom live in Nuku'alofa), 58 percent practiced
241 some gardening on their bush allotments. Agricultural
439 products accounted for more than 97 percent of Tonga's export earnings in 1971 (Government of Tonga, 1972a).

241 One further measure of the importance of the agricul-
438 tural system is the rapid expansion of trading at Talamahu
443

/60 cont./

304 were tattooed. (167)

167. Cf. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; J. Cook, Beschreibung...: loc. cit. VI. pp. 279/280; W. Waldegrave, Extracts.../cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 194

304 531 Tattooing, which consisted of elaborate figures and patterns, each of which had a special name, covered the abdomen and thighs, that is, all parts of the body from the hips to the knees, (168)

168. Mariner says: "...from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus" /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 266).

including the penis. Women were little tattooed, for the most part only on the inside of the hands (fingers and palms), on the arms and sometimes on the legs, (169)

169. First observed by Waldegrave (see above).

304 554 626 with dotlike and star-shaped patterns. Among the Tongans it was generally considered unmanly not to be tattooed. Non-tattooed men would have been ridiculed by other men and more especially by women. 463 Usually special experts carried out the process when the person 413 reached adulthood. They used comblike instruments (made from the 239 wing bones of wild ducks), dipped these in a mixture of soot (from 386 Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and water, and, with a small stick and in a rather time-consuming procedure, hammered the pattern into the skin. (170)

170. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 256/266.

304 171 178 This ancient tattooing, which was perhaps a fashion taken over from Samoa--although practiced for centuries--, has today almost entirely disappeared. In various villages of the Archipelago a few old men are still living who have this kind of tattoos, but they are Samoans or Tongans who some time ago submitted to the process in Samoa where this art is practiced to a certain extent even today.

/60 cont./

304 178 However, a large number of men and older women in Tonga wear tattoo marks (tatatau) in the form of letters (block letters), namely their initials, chiefly on the inside of their forearms. (171)

171. Their forearms are usually bare (short or rolled-up sleeves).

[532] In addition, one sees a few men who have pictorial tattoos, such as birds, (dove, the Tongan heraldic animal), lions or two crossed flags. These are generally worn on top of the forearm or on the chest.

Thus we find an essential change in Tongan tattooing: the old ornaments have been lost and in their place /61/ have appeared the prosaic, though in Tonga greatly esteemed letters, as well as a few European symbols. And tattooing shifted from the parts of the body generally clothed (hidden tattoos) chiefly to the unclothed forearms (visible tattoos).

Usually the operation is undertaken at the age of 16, which probably corresponds to the age for ancient Tongan tattooing. In [177] place of the old comblike bone instuments the Tongans now use European (sewing) needles (hui),.thorns of orange twigs (tala 'i moli) and needles of the kakatisi tree (tala 'i kakatisi), sometimes also [386] shark's teeth. As in former times, they take the soot of burned Aleurites or, since it is more convenient, the soot on iron cooking pots, mix it with water, apply this black liquid to the skin part to be tattooed (on the design), puncture the skin with the needle through the color solution and then wipe off the soot water--along with the blood--from the surface of the skin. After a few days the punctured skin becomes blackish and the tattoo is fully visible. Occasionally they now also use red ink instead of the soot water. The length of time required depends on the energy of the person being tattooed and his ability to withstand pain; about an hour is the average. In [463] general, any Tongan can perform this type of tattooing, but there are

304 /61 cont./
198 some natives who are especially experienced and expert. The present
463 non-specialization is one reason why tattoos usually lack all refinement and appear clumsy.

304 Even these simple tattoos seem to be becoming gradually fewer,
198 though many young men and some girls still have them done. A person who has himself tattooed does it because he regards it as "beautiful," as an adornment; moreover, the undertaking satisfies the need of many young Tongan men to appear strong and brave. However, tattoos are no longer an indispensable attribute of manliness; no one holds a non-tattooed person in contempt. Many an older Tongan regards his tattoos as a curiosity from the past and advises his children against "disfiguring" their bodies. In fact, it is not certain whether today's method of tattooing is a degenerate remnant of ancient Tongan tattooing art, or whether the latter died out some 100 years ago and the "modern procedure" was then borrowed--perhaps from European seamen. However, the term tatatau is the same today as it was in ancient Tonga. (172)

172. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 265.

/62/

304 Circumcision

The ancient Tonga custom of circumcision (173)

173. Compare J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p, 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 264/265.

(kakau or tefe) has persisted undiminished to this day. All male Tongans, probably without exception, are circumcised. The custom [177] is so deeply rooted in the people that centuries of European influence have led to no decrease, and an adult Tongan, indeed, even a boy of 13 or 14, would be ashamed if he were not circumcised; in any case, he would be talked about in the village.

Commonly, boys between the ages of six and twelve (most often nine or ten) submit to circumcision. Their parents make the appointment with the person undertaking it who usually circucises several

/6 cont./

304 boys at a time. Thus, for example, in 1951 on Nomuka, B.S. Matata reported that in a good half hour he treated 22 boys. Most circumcisions nowadays are undertaken in December, since many uncircumcised pupils then being promoted in the village schools want to begin the new school year in "proper" condition. Though [463] [178] [743] there are still a few aged, experienced Tongans who perform these operations, to an increasing extent since around 1920, boys have gone to hospitals or to the small stations of "medical practitioners" and "dispensers" /cited in English/; today--even on the small islands--this already seems to be the normal procedure.

Two methods are therefore customary at present. According to the technique used by aged Tongans, a small piece of hard wood (pahihi) is pushed under the foreskin, then, with a piece of broken glass (from a bottle) or with a razor blade (substitute for bamboo knife and shell) (174)

174. Compare J. Martin, loc.cit. II. p. 264.

an incision is made in the foreskin and the two halves are lifted to the sides; they become necrotic or are cut off with scissors. The juice of pounded leaves (ate?) are dripped into the resulting wound the wound is covered with other leaves, the penis is bandaged with white tapa (feta'aki) and tied upright with a feta'aki belt placed around the waist and drawn between the legs. According to the "Hebraic method" used in hospitals, the foreskin is drawn forward and cut off as far as possible, the remainder being incised. Treatment and care of the wound proceed in the usual European manner. In addition, there are various modified "private procedures." For example, the dispenser of Nomuka performs circumcision by drawing a knife under the foreskin.

304 852 /63/ Nowadays, festivities in connection with circumcision scarcely take place. People regard the operation as a necessary and natural procedure to which one must submit, and attach no deeper

/68 cont./

581 178 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)

586 177 194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)

587 586 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 162 178 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 565 198 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately the same number of persons as today. (196)

(589) (463) 196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble workmen (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

(597) Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 565 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).

/105 cont./

565 178 463 The very limited possibilities commoners had in old times of obtaining special offices (296)

> 296. The commoners who were not farmers worked as cooks or sometimes practiced lowly trades such as tattooing, shaving and carving clubs (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92); however, some are said to have risen socially from the lowly ranks they were born into (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 112.

have been very much expanded through the emancipation of the people. (622) /106/ Commoners nowadays very often hold the post of "town officer" /cited in English/, and the teachers, pastors and physicians, as well as many officials and employees of the government in the administrative centers of the Archipelago come from the ranks of commoners.

565 178 621 The old social stratification of the population of the Tonga Islands has herewith undergone an essential change; the earlier, extreme contrast between nobles and common people was considerably moderated and new positions of authority were created which are respected in the community and may be obtained not through the (361) privilege of birth but through knowledge and ability. Formerly, people lived scattered over the islands on their plantations, completely dependent on their respective chiefs and matapule. Today, (554) in the village community, the chief, often together with a few matapule, (622) has a respected, but by no means overrated, position if he owns land (634) or is a "town officer" (or "district officer") /cited in English/ receiving a salary from the state. As a landless chief without any official function he and with him the matapule have actually been reduced to a certain insignificance which, only on official occasions (kava circles), gives way to a formal show of respect. More capable (622) commoners, as "town officers," oversee many village communities in which the actual chief leads a simple life which scarcely differs ooo from that of commoners. The clergymen who conduct the numerous church

/119 cont./

423 425 241 live with their kinfolk and help them cultivate their land, or they may take over a small piece of their api'uta (or land from another villager) for temporary, independent /120/ cultivation, with the secret hope of some day obtaining a plantation on their own island (for example, if a person with no one to inherit his land should die).

463 464 Some of these "landless" individuals also specialize as fishermen, for example, or they hire themselves out as workers in public service, or they look for work as sailors on the many native cutters. In the towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu amd Pangai/Lifuka a few Tongans pursue definite professions in the government and in business, which leaves them little time for cultivating the land, so that some of them do not care to have land for planting allocated to them.

592 423 The unevenness of land distribution may be shown in the following examples:

Of the 91 households owning land on 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai-Group)

3 households each with circa 2 acres (331)

331. The data in acres are estimates of well-informed Tonga.

1	household	with	circa		2½	acres
4	households	each	with	circa	3	"
2	"	"	"	"	3½	"
10	"	"	"	"	4	"
1	household	"	"	"	4½	"
5	household	"	"	"	5	"
4	"	"	"	"	5½	"
19	"	"	"	"	6	"
2	"	"	"	"	6½	"
5	"	"	"	"	7	"
6	"	"	"	"	7½	"
12	"	"	"	"	8	"

/134 cont./

343 178 (or various materials and all kinds of shapes) or vacant dwellings serve to store supplies. Almost every household, however, has a cook 343 252 hut which is usually put up as a "stick construction" with a very simple shape and is covered [on top and sides] with interlaced coconut-palm leaves (pola); sometimes bamboo (walls), timber and corrugated metal are also used. The families who do not own a cook hut cook in the open (for example, under a large tree) or at a neighbor's, never [178] inside the dwelling. The ancient Tongan custom of separating dwelling and kitchen has thus been retained. As a result of efforts on the part 343 514 of authorities, most Tongan households today have separate latrine huts 178 covered with interwoven coconut-palm twigs (pola) or with timber and/ or corrugated metal. The /135/ little "bath" houses erected on most 343 515 properties, in which people wash in a zinc tub or a wash basin. often consist of only three pola-walls; some are also built of wood and 343 corrugated metal and are roofed-over. Boat houses occur now and then in the shape of simple roofs covered with interwoven coconut-palm leaves, which are supposed to protect sailboats temporarily out of service from the inclemencies of the weather. Roofed-over work areas [178] (especially for women) on many properties in the villages have similar, simple roofs, as in old times. (362)

362. See G. Forster, loc. cit. I. p. 139.

342 178 177 To sum up, we may say that today in the Tonga Archipelago there are no longer any dwellings which correspond exactly to the ancient Tongan dwelling. However, despite the new building material and the model of the simpler, rectangular constructions, one-half (and more) or the numerous types or today show the old form of the long house with rounded narrow sides. With this has arisen a fusion of the old and the new which strikes us as strange.

342 463 For house-building in ancient Tonga there were specialists

/135 cont./

342 463 (tufuanga langa fale). They (with several helpers) erected the chiefs' dwellings and other larger buildings. (363)

363. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 96. 279.

342 565 It is to be assumed that commoners mostly built their houses themselves, especially since Mariner reports that everyone knew how to build a house. (364)

364. Ibid. p. 279.

342 412 [237] The tools used in house building consisted chiefly of various axes with stone blades and rasps with rough fish skins. (365)

365. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/. I. p. 109; J. T. Plant, Handbuch.../Handbook/ II. p. 374.

342 178 177 463 [868] Today almost every Tongan is still capable of building by himself a dwelling with the ancient Tongan ground plan, and there are also a few "laymen" who can erect a European-type house. Besides, there are, as in old times, special house builders living in every village. They received their training in the traditional way: by working on various house-building projects they gathered knowledge and experience. A few

342 178 177 463 412 335 were trained, European-fashion, as carpenters (for example, in Fiji). Therefore, as a rule, they own an assortment of good English tools (for example, axes, hatchets, adzes, saws, hammers, drills, planes, chisels, caulking irons, screwdrivers, files, clamps, angle irons, levels, tape measures, etc.). Among the rest of the house builders, European axes, transverse hatchets with iron blades and large European machetes, as all-around tools, replace the equipment customary in ancient Tonga, which has long since disappeared throughout the Archipelago.

412 [824] /136/ The big axe (toki lahi) is used to cut down trees and cut up and split trunks. It is usually bought readymade in the commercial centers of the Archipelago; sometimes the natives acquire only the blade (approximately 19 centimeters length and 11.5 centimeters maximum width)

/137 cont./

412 The large machete (hele pelu) is generally bought readymade
[439] (total length 60-70 centimeters), and is easily obtainable in the commercial centers of the Archipelago. The knife tip which is bent
[824] slightly upwards is usually cut off. The frequently broken handles are skilfully replaced by self-made wooden shells (feta'u wood). This machete is an all-purpose instrument. In house-building it serves for the most diverse tasks wherever something needs to be cut, knocked off, or leveled (planed), and for many Tonga it replaces the small transverse hatchet. Beyond that, the knife has a wide range of uses in the hands of men, women and children, from cutting finger- and toenails to various tasks on the plantations.

342 Many Tongans (especially commoners) feel it is important to erect
463 what they regard as a well-built, solid dwelling on their property, and
331 secure the help of a specialist who carries out the work with several helpers (relatives of the "owner," his friends and other villagers). If, later, a second house is needed on his place, he usually builds it himself (alone or with the help of members of the family and other relatives or friends).

In 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai), in 1952, 76 dwellings with ancient Tonga ground plan were carefully examined.

342 Of these, 54 were built by house builders (or Tongans who were
463 regarded as house builders). Until recent times their work was acknowl-
465 eged only with food. In only seven cases was the builder paid with money
331 (sums between 8 and 40 $ T.); four of these cases involve an impoverished refugee from Niu Fo'ou who, in 1951, worked only as house builder in 'Uiha, hence these cases should be regarded as exceptions. In two cases that took place 50 years ago, the builder was remunerated with mats and tapa, while in a case that occurred 30 years ago a rather large quantity of coconut-fiber cord (kafa) was given.

342 The remaining 22 houses were built by natives who are not special-
463
331

[ʻUiha (Haʻapai)]
[Fungamisi (Vavaʻu)]

331 /137 cont./
342 ists. In 15 cases the owner of the property was his own builder, in
463 seven cases relatives, friends or villagers built the house for him. Of these structures, 19 were built after 1940.

In rare cases were houses built by builders of "laymen" alone.
[465] Usually as many as eleven helpers worked together, whose work was remunerated only with food.

342 The cost of materials for all houses (ancient Tongan ground plan)
435 range from 0 (only native material, or donated old corrugated metal and building timber) to 70 £ T. (new corrugated sheet metal, building timber, nails).

342 /138/ In the same town, the same year, 19 European-type dwellings
463 were carefully examined. Of these, one was built about 50 years ago by
331 a white man, 15 were erected by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such), and three structures were put up by natives who were not specialists, for their own use (some 50 years ago). Here
[465] too the work of the builders was largely acknowledged only with food. In two cases (1908 and 1943) the builders were paid with mats and tapa and in three cases (1910, 1951, 1951) with money (6 - 10 £ T.). The
[435] helpers involved (1-8) each received only food. The cost of material for these buildings runs between 20 £ T. (material bought secondhand) and 400 £ T. (good material, medium-sized house).

Corresponding surveys in the same year in Fungamisi/Vavaʻu showed:

[465] Of 24 carefully examined dwellings with ancient Tongan ground plan, only five were erected by house-builders (or by Tongan regarded as house-builders); four of these were self-built, in the fifth case the work was acknowledged only with food. The remaining 19 houses were put up by Tongans who are not specialists; in 18 cases the natives built for themselves, in one case a son coming from another

331 /138 cont./
342 village built a house for his mother. Fourteen of these "laymen"
463 buildings were put up after 1940. The builders or "laymen" seldom
602 worked alone. In most cases they had up to five helpers (often
465 relatives) whose work was acknowledged only with food. In many cases
435 there was no outlay for building material, since the builders limited themselves to native raw materials or were given only corrugated metal and building timber; for the rest of the buildings, up to 12 £T. was spent for corrugated metal, building timber and nails.

331 342 Of 16 European-type houses examined at the same time, 11 were
177 built by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such). The
463 work of the builders (some of whom were relatives) was acknowledged
602 only with food, except in two cases; one was given building material
465 (wood), the other was given money. Five houses were built by non-specialist natives for themselves.--Altogether, two houses were built individually. For the rest of the 14 structures, 2 to 20 helpers were
465 co-workers. Their work was here too acknowledged only with food while they were building, except for one case in which money was given. For
435 building material--aside from gifts--between 20 £T. (old material) and 1000 £T. (good material, very large house) was spent.

342 These investigations can give us various clues. We realize that most Tongans are apparently still capable of building by themselves (Fungamisi example) a simple dwelling (ancient Tongan ground plan).
463 However, as a result of the "liberation" of the people, the house-
331 building specialists, of whom there were some even in ancient Tonga, seem to have obtained a greater range of work insofar as many commoners
342 depend on them for help (as did many chiefs in former times). The
178 wish to have a well-built house in ancient Tongan style is considerably greater, according to the figures quoted above, in a more remote village like 'Uiha than in a settlement near a harbor, like Fungamisi

/139/

342 198 where, considering the buildings in the seaport of Neiafu, the old-style Tongan houses may be regarded as mostly self-built makeshifts in a light construction. (367)

367. See p. 193.

342 197 463 The dissemination of "European-type construction" (wood-corrugated metal-rectangular buildings) need not necessarily--on the basis of the aforementioned figures--lead to an increase in house-building specialization; some skillful Tongans, even as "laymen," know how to build such types of houses. (368)

368. All European-style houses are, incidentally, today built by Tongans without guidance by whites. The natives can also build a European shed on concrete bases and even know how to make concrete tiles by themselves (from the necessary imported material).

[333]

342 436 463 465 331 Moreover, we learn that money which circulates rather freely in the Archipelago has heretofore played no great role in the employment of house-builders. The efforts of specialists and helpers are mainly acknowledged, in the old way, simply with good food (earth oven) during the building. (369)

369. Even in the "modern" work of erecting European-style structures.

342 435 198 The building material for the construction of a house with the ancient Tongan ground plan and coconut-palm covering can still, as in old times, be procured without financial expenditure, so that the entire process can be carried through without an outlay of cash, (370)

370. If the "owner" does not have enough pigs and products from his plantation at his disposal, he will of course have an indirect cash outlay in buying flour, sugar, corned beef, etc., in order to feed the builders.

and only with the cost of good food for all workers; this applies to a remote settlement ('Uiha) as well as to a village near a seaport (Fungamisi).

/141 cont./

342 For a long time the "district officer" /cited in English/
177 living on Nomuka has wanted to move out of the house of his parents-
178 in-law and build his own house on a property he owns in the village.
463 He talks over his plan with Vilingia, the (approximately 45-year-old)
331 house-building specialist on Nomuka, who has been trained in Fiji as a carpenter. They decide to build a house with ancient Tongan ground plan but with "improved beaming," wooden walls with a cement base, windows and doors and a corrugated sheet metal roof. Vilingia draws a construction plan in an exercise book. The district officer
(439) buys four metal drums of cement, Canadian building timber, corrugated sheet metal and nails, flour, fat and sugar in Nuku'alofa and has the supplies brought to Nomuka in cutters. Six men from Nomuka sail to
(484) the uninhabited island of Tonumea, a half-day's journey distant, there
(313) chop down 12 breadfruit trees, cut them up as beams and take them
(283) home. Coconut-fiber cord is also made in sufficient quantities. After all the material has lain ready for several weeks, the district officer decides to start the building. Shortly before the date fixed,
(251) a group of natives sail to the neighboring island of Nomuka Iki, there shoot one of the half-wild cows of the "boss," cut it up properly and, in Nomuka, salt down the meat in wooden tubs, under the supervision of an aged Tongan.

342 On the day the building is to commence, some 20 men from the
476 village (young and old in approximately the same number) assemble early
313 in the morning at the previous dwelling of the "boss," and, after a
331 breakfast of fried cakes /cited in English/ (Tonga: keke) and orange-leaf tea, they repair to the plantations, led by the carpenter Vilingia, where, because of the exalted position of the "boss," they take the liberty of selecting and cutting down the coconut palms needed for the rafters, without asking permission from their respective

/180 cont./

501 178 177 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (fakatele).

226 292 178 824 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets

415 226 824 177 ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)

470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

According to Mariner (471)

286 463 [178] 471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in [824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which [237] is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiseus tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the [465] experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent 227 [463] on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of [426] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each [178] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/181 cont./

000 the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

226 463 Like net-making, fishing itself was a hereditary profession, according to Mariner. (472)

472. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

Even though not every Tongan, by any means, knows how to fish anymore, the number of natives who master at least one of the methods is very large; most of them fish only in addition to their main work of farming, and there are very few who devote themselves daily and almost exclusively to fishing. The Tongan calls the fishing experts toutai; but he means by this not so much a "profession" in our sense, but rather a man who knows the sea and is experienced in fishing. It is not to be assumed that this was essentially different in ancient Tongan times. (473)

473. Gifford, however, speaks of "professional fishermen" /cited in English/ and says, for example: "An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the toutai ika (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed." /cited in English/ (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 147). If there were indeed "professional fishermen" in ancient Tonga, they could only have acted as attendants of chiefs /182/ and have served them. Aside from that, most methods of fishing were probably employed by anyone who mastered them, as is also implied by Gifford's words: "Every 'commoner' who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront." /cited in English/ (Ibid. p. 177.)

[784]

226 361 178 /182/ While, in ancient Tonga, apparently those who had their property along the shore had the right to fish, (474)

474. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 177.

today the Tongans within the realm of their islands, engage in fishing wherever they expect to be successful, and pay no attention to the

/182 cont./ As in all
areas of daily life, the commoners here too enjoy greater freedom than they did in the past. Fishing has largely remained a secondary occupation (secondary to farming),, though there are some ardent fishermen among the natives, a few of whom (478)

478. See "the landless ones," p. 178.

pursue it as their main occupation. However, there has never been a definite specialization or systematization. /183/ One does not meet any Tongans who carry on fishing as a regular business; ratner, the natives go about it in their traditional casual-calm way. (479)

479. Although, in the Ha'apai group where fish are plentiful, one can easily fish "from one's front door," as it were, the natives do not by any means make regular use of this possibility. Nor is it rare for natives to return from fishing on the high seas without fish because they have already consumed them on the way.

The strange situation that the Tonga Islands, some of whose waters have a great abundance of fish, today import rather large quantities of canned fish, (480)

480. In 1951, for example, 15,912 T. (C.Z.F.)-worth from South Africa, Great Britain, Norway, New Zealand and Australia.

may be explained by the fact that the Tongans are fond of fish prepared in the European way; largely to blame for this development, however, are the commercial interests of Europeans, the present "wealth" of the natives as a result of their copra production, as well as the aziness of the Tongans.

d) Food and Luxuries

Food

The ancient plants cultivated in Tonga (yams, kape, sweet potatoes, taro, bananas), together with various ancient indigenous tree fruits (especially coconuts and bread fruit) and fish (and mussels, octopus,

/228 cont./

512
527
[796]
[794]
(592)

592. Children also attend Sunday school.

in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part. Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help [252] [264] of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main [264] Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it [574] sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the [212] bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the [591] week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups [264] gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (faka-afe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

[463]
[461]

594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)
[527]

595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/237 cont./

000 for money.

G. Vocations and Trades

463 In ancient Tongan the idea of "vocation" already existed in the sense that individual "specialists" within the community were engaged in the continuous practice of certain work and activity; in accordance with the social order, their efforts were intended for the nobles.

Mariner (628)

628. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 93 ff.

gives us an insight into these "ancient Tongan vocations." Among them are: boat-builders, (629)

629. They also made weapons (clubs, spears) and were experienced in ivory work.

the overseers of funeral ceremonies, stonemasons (for burial chambers), net-makers, fishermen, house-builders (for large houses), tattooists, club-carvers, barbers and cooks. These specialists, the list of whom Gifford (630)

630. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 144.

completes /by adding/ cord-winders (for the ornamental coconut-cord lashing on the framework of houses) and sailmakers, differed in their ability and work from the rest of the populace that carried on agriculture and all the other necessary activities of their simple life (for example, the building of smaller houses and outriggers, a few methods of fishing).

The aforementioned vocations, however, probably did not all have the importance of continuously practiced activities, for the overseers of burial ceremonies and the stonemasons probably functioned only at the burials of chiefs, which were rare in point of time

463 565 The boat-builders and overseers of burials came from the ranks of matapule (631)

631. See p. 150-151

/237 cont./

463 and mu'a, (632)
565

632. The mu'a are individuals one of whose parents has the rank of chief, while the other is of matapule rank (see E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 109.

those who had other vocations were mu'a or commoners, except barbers and cooks who belonged exclusively to the commoners.

463 According to Mariner, (633)
428

633. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

565 all these vocations were hereditary, with certain reservations in the case of tattooists, carvers of clubs and barbers. However, there seems to have been no compulsion toward hereditary vocations; in the highly esteemed vocations the son took over the activity (usually along with the title) /238/ (634)

634. See E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 145.

of his father, if only out of self-interest and in accordance with what had become a general custom, while in the less esteemed vocations the sons probably followed in their father's footsteps as a result of the rigidity of social stratification. (635)

635. See J. Martin, loc, cit. II. pp. 94/95.

463 The members of particularly esteemed professions were paid for
431 their work with gifts from the chiefs; (636)

636. Ibid. p. 93.

the natives who practiced the less respected vocations apparently also received occasional gifts. (637)

637. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

463 These conditions in ancient Tonga have now undergone a funda-
179 mental change as a result of European influences.

There are no longer any boat-builders or sailmakers in the old sense, since the catamarans have been given up; the carvers of clubs

/238 cont./

463 177 have likewise long since lost their reason for existence, since, already a century ago, clubs were replaced by the more effective fire-arms and, in any case, by that time a peaceful era had dawned in the Archipelago; the demise of the old tattooing art also meant the end of this vocation, and there are likewise no longer any occupational cord-winders because of the decline of the traditional way of building houses. Changes in tombs hint at what will be the last of the stone cutters' work. On account of the progressive democratization and with [178] [565] it the relaxation of the common people's obligation toward the nobility, the occupations of cook, barber, net-maker, fisherman and house-builder have also disappeared, insofar as they applied to the households of the chieftains.

463 The choice of occupation is today freely left to the individual, and usually ability is more decisive than origin. In modern Tonga some new occupations arose, only a few of which are comparable to those of ancient Tonga:

Clergyman (of various churches)
Teacher (of the government, of churches)
Physician (government service)
Administrative employee (of the government, of the Copra Board) (also: postal employee including telegraph service, customs official, policeman, road worker)
Business employee (of white or Tongan merchants)
Carpenter (for building modern and ancient Tongan houses and boats)
/239/ Blacksmith (often carpenter and blacksmith simultaneously)
Car driver and auto mechanic
Baker
Tailor (seamstress)
Hair-stylist
Merchant
Seaman (on small sailboats within the Archipelago; very occasionally on foreign ships on the pacific)

Employee of the administration (except for district officer and town officer), shop employee, car driver, auto mechanic, baker,

/239 cont./

463 tailor (seamstress) and hair-stylist are occupations carried on only in the administrative and business centers of Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), Pangai (Lifuka) and Neiafu (Vava'u); the rest are represented on the small islands of the Archipelago. Many members of these professions also own plantations and cultivate them as far as they are able.

463 868 In the skilled trades there is no systematic instruction even today. The young Tongan who is interested in a certain activity takes part in the work wherever he feels he can learn something, until he feels confident enough to carry out the work independently and his /competence is/ acknowledged by the community. Natives of the smaller islands who wish to become carpenters, for instance, prefer to go to the chief towns of the Archipelago to perfect their skill. (638)

638. The carpenter and blacksmith Vilingia on Nomuka, for example, even traveled to Fiji where he received systematic training.

463 874 Glergymen, teachers and physicians are given systematic training, the two former in special seminaries on the main island (more seldom in Australia or New Zealand), the latter at the Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji. Employees in the administration are also systematically trained if it seems necessary (for instance, telegraph service).

463 183 178 Whereas in ancient Tonga the performance of duty towards the chiefs was implicit in the idea of a vocation, a present-day vocation carries with it the idea of achievement for the benefit of the doer himself and for all strata of the population. The person who practices a profession is no longer directly dependent on the

463 465 198 nobility. In place of work that was acknowledged through gifts or was unrewarded, there is now payment for most professional activity. All Tongans in the service of the government receive fixed salaries

/239 cont./

463 (or wages); the congregations pay their clergymen; and workmen are
465 paid in money for their services, by nobles as well as commoners
178 (or else their work is acknowledged with good food); in business, finally, /240/ Tongan employees are also paid, while the independent merchants earn money through sale activity.

463 Vocational specialization, however, is only a complementary force in the general economic life. It is far from dividing up the population into various professional groups. Almost all Tongans still master the tasks needed for life on the islands. (639)

639. That is to say, agriculture, fishing, simple house-building and boat-building, domestic animal raising and copra production; the women today also generally know how to sew articles of clothing.

441 Businesses were unknown in ancient Tonga, if one means by business
178 an independent activity continuously practiced with a view to economic gain.

Today there is business activity, in this sense in the Archipelago,
[181] but relatively few natives engage in it. In general, the Tongans
439 lack a sense of acquisition. For instance, when white visitors arrive with the monthly steamer in the ports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, the natives, even in these "urbanized" settlements, do not offer to sell them handwork (baskets, mats, fans, tapa, etc.), (640)

640. A recent exception are two natives who make tortoise-shell jewelry (rings, bracelets with silver inlay) specifically for this purpose (as handicraft).

and Europeans often have the greatest difficulty in getting a coveted "souvenir"; /cited in English/ usually they depart without such handicraft. (641)

641. Conditions on Niue Island (about 300 sea miles east of the Tonga Archipelago) are just the opposite.

/241 cont./

472 these available for transporting persons and freight to make money.
[463] Finally, workmen of the chief towns (bakers, tailors, hair-cutters) also belong to those engaged in business, while most of the carpenters and blacksmiths in the villages of the small islands do not yet show a purely acquisitive sense.

472 Thus a trade engaged in on the principle of permanent monetary gain
177 has arisen in Tonga only as a result of European influence, and a few
181 natives can today be called "tradesmen" in this sense. Only pressure for moneymaking resulting from overpopulation as well as a considerable increase of /242/ European influence will probably arouse economic acqusitiveness among the majority of Tongans and will be able to overcome the feelings and values of these natives /incompatible with such activity/.

H. Money in the Life of the Tongans

436 Money is something utterly new in Tonga. In the past the chiefs,
425 in accordance with their authority, obtained freely everything they
565 wished from commoners without compensation, (643)

643. Particularly esteemed workers, however, were repaid with gifts.

and the commoners among themselves probably acted according to the still current system of "anticipated reciprocity." (644)

644. Namely, request for something without direct return service (see pp. 136-137).

This arrangement was taken for granted by all Tongans.

436 Today money plays an important role in the economic life of
[177] these people. Tongan currency, modeled on the British pattern, works with pounds, shillings and pence. The value of a Tongan pound (£T) corresponds to an Australian pound. The bank notes issued by the Kingdom of Tonga are made out in the amount of 5 £T., 1 £T., 10 shillings and 4 shillings. In addition, there are Australian

100: Koch--425 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/281 cont./

871 177 The adoption of European book-learning as well as the excessive amount of theoretical knowledge have not heretofore had a negative effect because Tonga is independent in its domestic policy; there is no discrimination against, much less suppression of, native intelligence by whites. The Tongans realize that the possibilities for applying their knowledge, their education, are limited by natural conditions (the smallness of their kingdom), and that they are not deliberately held back by a European administration. On the contrary, the British [657] [463] protectorate authority seeks to raise their level through the training of Tongan physicians, teachers and administrative officials. And therein lies the visible benefit of their adoption of European knowledge: The Tongans have to a certain extent learned to administer their state in the European manner, so that they may exist in the midst of a Europeanized world.

7. The Attitude of the Tongans to the Change in their Culture

829 The majority of Tongans, both in the chief towns as well as the villages of the large and small islands of the Archipelago accept the changes in their way of life and their culture not only as something to be taken for granted and unalterable, but something they even welcome and try to promote. None of the natives resists this development, [563] and there is no hostility against Europeans.

829 177 186 Most of them see in the life style of the whites an ideal worth striving for; they would like to know as much, be able to do as much, be as neat and prosperous as they are. Yet, despite this wish, the Tongans are not giving up their own nature, their old point of view which was so typical even at the time they were discovered. With considerable self-assurance they face Europeans and have a pride which in the community increases to a national consciousness. In general they adopt from the

/296 cont./
canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life. Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

/297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However, here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga. Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).

T F 795 171 /310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T F 533 538 535 177 In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

T F 524 872 177 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian conception of the world, European influences (especially schools and churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems T 871 somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the T F 871 182 young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this T [873] [463] colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn F [571] village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

G /320 cont./
461 work for chief and king, military service, bark cloth making) today
434 often cultivates for purposes of sale; often men and women have separate cotton plantations and the latter regard the proceeds from their sales as their exclusive property.

G T The Baganda, like the Tongans, have also become acquainted with
463 new professions, and some are teachers, pastors, assistant physicians,
179 administrative employees, /321/ plantation overseers, houseboys, askaris and chauffeurs. Among the old crafts that of the smith
G (326) in particular has been retained, and is limited to certain kinship associations. A good many Baganda are quite successful as tailors and cabinetmakers. Business seems to appeal to them no more than it does to most Tongans; in this African kingdom there are very few native shop owners, which may be partly due to the activity of the
G T Indians in this field. A few Baganda run small inns on the main
(485) highways, an occupation for which the Tongans lack inclination and opportunity.

G These natives, like the Islanders, have become quite accustomed to
T European money and use it to a great extent to pay their taxes, to
436 buy imported goods, as well as to pay off debts among themselves;
179 for them money meant not so much a complete innovation, but rather a substitute for, and a further development of, their old "currency" which consisted of cowrie shells, beads, bark cloth and wire. Though
G (431) the goat and bark cloth still play a definite role among the Baganda as ceremonial gifts, nevertheless European money has gained greater importance in their customs (that is, marriage, birth and death) than it has among the Tongans. However, the European attitude towards money has remained as alien to these Africans as it has to those South Sea Islanders; in economic matters they are by no means calculating, and it is not unusual for them to be entirely without money for months

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURAL PATTERNS

The Traditional System

Economically, Tonga is supported primarily by agriculture. Production of primary agricultural products accounts for approximately 65 percent of the nation's employment and the majority of all export earnings (96 percent in 1969). In addition to subsistence cropping, bananas and coconut are most frequently raised as cash crops. Copra is currently Tonga's major agricultural export, seconded by bananas. While the export value of bananas was greater than copra in 1967 and 1968, the occurrence of diseases, which affect the banana plant, permitted copra to regain its dominance. Copra is expected to remain the major agricultural cash crop in Tonga, during the near future.

Most Tongan men earn their livelihood as farmers, having three basic production activities. Production of subsistence crops for family consumption is the major concern of the majority of these men. Additional production activity concerns crops for local sale and crops for exportation to international markets.

Table 13 presents the major labor divisions within the Tongan Kingdom. While only 66.5 percent of the male population is engaged in agricultural employment, recent surveys indicated that a majority of the remaining work force are also part-time farmers, producing

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

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162 TABLE 13.--Economically Active Males Over Age 15 Classified According to Industry in Which Engaged: 1966.

Industry	Total Number	Percent
Agriculture	13,827	66.58
Commerce	180	.86
Transportation and Communication	334	1.60
Services	1,715	8.25
Manufacturing and Processing	579	2.78
Government and Administration	124	.59
Domestic	33	.15
Unclassified	3,974	19.19
Total	20,766	100.00

SOURCE: S. M. Fiefia, Report of the Results of the 1966 Census (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1968), p. 72.

463
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[162] food crops for home consumption, plus some meat, such as pork and goat. As outlined in the previous chapter, virtually all Tongans are tied to the land and only rarely is a household encountered where the production of at least garden crops does not exist. However, the use of imported food commodities is increasing, particularly in the urban areas. This will be discussed in greather depth within the following chapters.

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592
462 Agriculture is usually the work of men, although it was frequently observed that an entire family may travel to its rural 'api and spend several days working together. Men usually do the heavier labor, such as clearing and preparing the land for planting. While